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C O N T E N T S.

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	PAGE.
JOHN COTTON'S ANSWER TO ROGER WILLIAMS	I
Edited by Rev. J. LEWIS DIMAN,	
<u>QUERIES OF HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.</u>	<u>241</u>
Edited by REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD, A. M.	



MASTER JOHN COTTON'S
ANSWER TO
MASTER ROGER WILLIAMS.

EDITED BY

P. Lewis Gunnar

EDITOR'S PREFACE.



ASTER John Cotton's *Answer to Master Roger Williams* closes a discussion which deserves the careful study of all who would correctly estimate the controversy between Williams and the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Nowhere else will the grounds of that controversy be found exhibited with such distinctness. The tract, which is here for the first time reprinted, is entitled therefore to a conspicuous place in any collection relating to Rhode Island history.

About ten years before this Reply was written, at some time it would seem, during his "sorrowfull Winters flight," Williams received from Cotton the Letter which was the immediate occasion of the discussion. In this Letter, which has been reprinted in the first volume of the *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, Cotton sought to convince Williams of the insufficiency of those grounds which had led him to reject the fellowship of the Massachusetts churches. When Roger Williams was in England, in the year 1643, he probably submitted this Letter to the inspection of his

friends, and by some means, but without his authority, it was put in print. His "formerly intended Answer," which he had withheld with the hope that the views of Cotton might in time be modified, was accordingly presented "to the same publick view," and in turn drew from Cotton this elaborate Reply. At this time Cotton and Williams were engaged in their more celebrated controversy respecting Toleration, and it therefore happened that this tract, which was published in 1647, made its appearance in the same volume with *The Bloody Tenent Wajfed*, a circumstance which has caused it to be sometimes confounded with a work with which in reality it had no connection. It was the earlier written of the two, although in the volume it has the second place.

In this discussion is furnished the fullest illustration of opinions which seem to have been more prominent than any other in the mind of Williams from the day when, according to his own statement, he had declined to become Teacher of the Boston Church, "because he durst not officiate to an unseparated people," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own church in Salem, because they would not funder themselves from the churches in the Bay. Like Robinson, of Leyden, in the earlier stage of his career, like Canne, of Amsterdam, Williams urged a renunciation of all fellowship with the Church of England, a position which the Puritans of Massachusetts had never taken, and which they now wholly refused to sanction. Whether Williams, during his five years residence in Massachusetts, rendered himself more obnoxious by his advocacy of Religious Toleration, or by his advocacy of the principles of Rigid Separation, is a question upon which the Reply of Cotton will be found to throw great light.

The precise question at issue between Cotton and Williams was, whether it was "necessary to Church-fellowship, that the members admitted thereunto, should all of them see, and expressly bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowship, Ministry, Worship, Government, &c." This thesis Williams zealously advocated, and Cotton opposed. While acknowledging and deplored the corruptions that existed in the Church of England, Cotton maintained that the "mixt fellowship of ignorant and prophanè persons doth not evacuate or disannul their Church estate—the store of malignant and noysome humors in the body, yea the deadnesse and rottenesse of many members in the body, though they make the body an unsound and corrupt body, yet they do not make the body no body." And touching the corruption in Government, Cotton denied that the "church estate" of the Parishes had been extinguished by the national establishment; nor would he acknowledge that there had been any pollution in a ministry marked by such "Truth of Godlinesse, Truth of Ministerial Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office by true Churches of Christ, Truth of sound, and wholesome, and soule-saving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Converfation."

While, however, the main subject discussed in this Reply relates to the dispute between the Nonconformist and the Separatist, its chief historical value arises from its incidental discussion of another question respecting which the most opposite opinions are still maintained.¹ A single allusion in Cotton's Letter to the "sentence of civil banishment" passed against

¹ "In reviewing the measures which led to the banishment of Roger Williams, we find that they all proceeded from the firmness with which, upon every occasion, he maintained the doctrine that the civil power has no control over the re-

Williams, drew from the latter a statement of the grounds of that decree, as they were "rightly summed up" by one of the magistrates after the trial. This statement, which Williams thus endorses, with Cotton's extended observations in reply, furnishes the most complete account that now remains of these proceedings, and by the two persons whose testimony is on every account entitled to the greatest weight. Although Cotton somewhat harshly criticises the statement made by Williams, yet a careful comparison of the two accounts will show that they do not involve any essential contradiction.

According to Williams the grounds of his banishment were the following opinions:

"1. That we have not our Land by Patent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Patent.

"2. That it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to Swear, to Pray, as being actions of Gods Worship.

"3. That it is not lawfull to heare any of the Ministers of the Parish Assemblies in England.

"4. That the Civill Magistrates power extends only to the Bodies, and Goods, and outward state of men."

This account of the matter Cotton terms "a fraudulent expression of the Particulars," for each one of these four opinions, he affirms, was known to be held by many who were still tolerated in the full enjoyment both of civil and religious liberty. It was not for the mere holding of opinions, but for the turbulent assertion of them, that Roger Williams had

religious opinions of men." Arnold, *Hist. R. I.*, vol. 1, p. 41.

"The sound and generous principles of a perfect freedom of the conscience in religious concerns can scarcely be shown

to have been involved in this dispute." Palfrey, *Hist. New England*, vol. 1, p. 413.

¹ Mr. Cotton's *Letter Examined and Answered*, pp. 4, 5.

been banished. According to Cotton's "best observation and remembrance," the two things which caused the sentence of banishment against Williams were: first, his violent and tumultuous carriage against the Patent; and second, his vehement opposition to the Oath of Fidelity. The sentence was however hastened by the course of Williams in inducing the Salem church to join with him in remonstrating against the action of the magistrates, and in afterwards renouncing communion with it.¹

But what at once arrests attention in these two statements is, that they both agree in regarding as entirely subordinate that opinion of Williams respecting the province of the Civil Magistrate which has been so frequently represented as the chief ground of difference between him and the Massachusetts Colony. If we had simply Cotton's statement, there might be some grounds for suspecting that his account of the proceedings, like the account which he gives in a subsequent passage in this Reply, of his connection with the Antinomians, was not quite ingenuous, but the fact of chief importance is that Williams himself, while enumerating, among the four causes of his banishment, his opinion respecting the power of the Civil Magistrate, yet nowhere, throughout the whole course of this discussion, lays any special emphasis upon it. It is certainly surprising, if this opinion were, as has been asserted, the real ground of all these proceedings, that he himself should here have claimed for it such an entirely subordinate importance.

With such substantial agreement between the two most important witnesses there seems no longer any room for controversy respecting the banishment of Williams. The question has been involved in difficulty by attaching an undue

¹ Cotton's *Answer*, pp. 27-29.

significance to the statement made by Winthrop respecting the action of the Court in July, 1635. In the charges presented at that time there is no allusion either to the Patent or to the Oath, an omission which can as little be reconciled with the statement of Williams as with that of Cotton, unless we suppose that the final step was based not on those charges simply, but on the whole antecedent action of the Court, an inference which the phraseology of the decree of banishment fully justifies.

The explanation of the proceedings against Williams, presented in this discussion, receives additional support from the unprejudiced testimony of Edward Winslow, who in reply to a statement of Gorton in *Simplicitie's Defence* that Williams had been banished "for dissenting in some points about church government," says: "I know that Mr. Williams (though a man lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall) held forth in those times *the unlawfulness of our Letters Patents* from the King, &c., would not allow the *Colours of our Nation*, denied the *lawfulness of a publicke oath as being needless to the Saints, and a profanation of Gods name to tender it to the wicked, &c.* And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points: however I am sorry for the love I beare to him and his, I am forced to mention it, but God calls mee at this time to take off these affusions."⁴

That the grounds assigned by the Massachusetts magistrates for their proceedings against Williams were not however the real grounds has been frequently asserted, and even in the very year in which Williams published his Answer to Cotton's Letter, a leading Presbyterian writer alleged the treatment of Williams and the Antinomians as instances of

⁴ *Hypocrisie Unmask'd*, by Edward Winslow, London, 1646. pp. 65-66.

persecution for opinion's sake, under the pretext of preserving the public peace.⁵ But even could it be proved that Williams had rendered himself obnoxious by his opinions, rather than by his disorderly expression of them, there would still be no reason whatever to suppose that the opinions which rendered him thus obnoxious were connected, to any considerable extent, with his views respecting religious toleration. The unmistakable tone of this whole discussion shows that his rigid principle of Separation was what made him suspected and disliked. Were it then required to go back of the reasons publicly assigned to discover a deeper motive for the treatment which he received, this attitude, maintained from first to last, would furnish the real explanation.

Besides illustrating with so much clearness the career of Roger Williams, this Reply of Cotton discusses a most perplexing chapter of his own history, in the vindication which he essayed of his conduct during the Antinomian controversy. It also throws much light upon his personal relations with the leading men among the English puritans, and by the freedom of its strictures provoked from Bradford a rejoinder which sets in clear relief the position of the Semi-separatist church at Plymouth. A paragraph at the beginning enables us to assign with certainty to the pen of Williams the anonymous *Queries* which were published in the same year with his *Answer*; and the account of the origin of the name Puritan will attract the notice of the curious reader.⁶ The conflicting statements respecting the date of the decree of banishment pronounced against Williams are fully discussed in the Appendix.

⁵ *Antapologia*, by Thomas Edwards.—London, 1644, p. 166.

⁶ In the note on this passage, (see page 119, note 88,) I ventured, on the au-

thority of Bayle, to correct Cotton for calling Sanders a Jesuit, but I have since observed that Ellis does the same. See Ellis's *Letters*, 2d Series, 111, 92.

That the views expressed in the foregoing pages do not in the least affect the fame of Roger Williams as an asserter of the Rights of Conscience need scarcely be observed. Like every great leader of opinion he reached by degrees his own conclusions. It does not detract from his real merit to suppose that his exile was a powerful means of modifying his relative estimate of truths. How far, indeed, the minister of Salem cherished, in his own mind, those distinctive principles the subsequent avowal of which shed such enduring lustre upon the founder of Providence, cannot be determined, but that he did not make them prominent in his controversy with the Massachusetts Colony may be fairly inferred from the tenor of the following discussion. Nor is this inference without support from another and wholly independent source. No one can suppose that Thomas Lechford was ignorant of the facts, or that he had any motive for suppressing them. On the contrary it would have exactly fallen in with the design of the *Plain Dealing*, to give due credit to an advocate of toleration, yet it is a significant circumstance that Lechford, while alluding to those views of Williams respecting the Christian ministry, which are so sharply commented upon in this Reply, does not connect his name with any assertion of Religious Liberty.

J. L. D.

PROVIDENCE, March, 1867.



A R E P L Y T O
MR. VVILLIAMS his
EXAMINATION;

And Answer of the Letters sent to
him by JOHN COTTON.

 Uch a Letter to such a purpose, I doe rememb-
ber I wrote unto M^r. *Williams* about halfe a
score yeares agoe. But whether this printed
Letter be a true Copie thereof, or no, I doe
not know; for the Letter being sent so long
since, and no Copie of it (that I can finde)
reserved by me; I can own it no further
then I finde the matter and style, expressing the judgement
which I then had of his cause of Separation, and the affection
I bare unto his person. And for ought I see, the Letter doth
not unfitly expresse both.

But how it came to be put in print, I cannot imagine.
Sure I am it was without my privitie: and when I heard of
it, it was to me unwelcome Newes, as knowing the truth,
and weight of *Plinies* speech, *Aliud est scribere uni, aliud omnibus*. There be who thinke it was published by M^r. *Wil- liams* himselfe, or by some of his friends, who had the Copie
from him. Which latter might be the more probable,
because himselfe denieth the publishing of it: and it sticketh

in my mind that I received many yeares agoe, a refutation of it (in a brotherly and ingenuous way) from a stranger to me, but one (as I heare) well affected to him, M^r. *Sabine Starefmore*.¹ To whom I had long agoe returned an Answer, but that he did [2] not direct me where my Letter might find him. But I doe not suspect M^r. *Starefmore*, nor M^r. *Williams* himselfe to have publisched it; but rather some other (unadvised) Christian, who (having gotten a copie of the Letter, tooke more libertie, then God alloweth, to draw forth a private Admonition to publick notice in a disorderly way.

But howsoever it was, upon the publishing of this Letter, M^r. *Williams* hath taken occasion (as is observed by some who are acquainted with the Spirit of the man) first to rise up against me (the meanest of many) in the examining and refuting of that Letter: And then (as if one *Mordecai* were too small a morsell) to stand forth against all the Churches, and Elders in *New-England*, in his *Bloody Tenant*: And then (as if *New-England* were but an handfull) from thence to rise up against the choicest Ornements of two populous Nations, *England* and *Scotland*, the reverend Assembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology: and above them all to addresse himselfe (according to his high thoughts) to propound Quarries of high concernment (as he calleth them) to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament. So a Bird of prey, affecting to soare aloft, getteth first upon the top of a molehill, and from thence taketh his rise from Pale to Tree, till he have surmounted the highest Mountaines.

¹ Governor Bradford has preferred in his History, pp. 39, 40, an interesting letter of Starefmore, dated Sept. 4, 1618, "From my chamber in Wodefreete Compter," a prison in which he was then confined. He was a friend of Cushman and Carver, and was associated with Henry Jacob in founding the Independent Church in London, in 1616. Neal's Puritans, vol. 1, page 476.

In this apprehension of him they are the more confirmed, as having discerned the like frame of Spirit in his former walking amongst us. Time was, when of all Christian Churches, the Churches of *New-England* were accounted, and professed by him, to be the most pure: and of all the Churches in *New-England*, *Salem* (where himselfe was Teacher) to be the most pure. But when the Churches of *New-England* tooke just offence at sundry of his proceedings, he first renounced communion with them all: and because the Church of *Salem* refused to joyne with him in such a groundlesse Censure, he then renounced communion with *Salem* also. And then fell off from his Ministry, and then from all Church-fellowship, and then from his Baptisme, (and was himselfe baptized againe) and then from the Lords Supper, and from all Ordinances of Christ dispensed in any Church-way, till God shall stirre up himselfe, or some other new Apostles to recover, and restore all the Ordinances, and Churches of Christ out of the ruines of Antichristian Apostacie. 3] But for mine own part, whatsoever thoughts, others (who seeme to know him well) have conceived of his Spirit, and course in these things: yet I choose rather to leave all Judgement of him, to Him, who feeth, and searcheth the heart, and reines, and will one day bring every secret thing, yea the very thoughts, and intents of the sonnes of men, unto righteous Judgement.

Nevertheless, seeing the Tree is knowne by his fruits, I doe rather apprehend, that he knowing the Spirit breatheth where he pleaseth, and conceiving himselfe to have received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the estate of Christs Kingdome, and of the purity of holy Communion, then all Christendome (yea even Christendome it selfe is an unsavoury word to him) he therefore taketh it to be his duty, to give,

publique advertisement, and admonition to all men, whether of meaner note, (such as my selfe) or of more publique note, and place, of the corruptions of Religion, which himselfe observeth in their judgement, and practice. Neither would I deny, but that (to use his own words) *God sometimes stirreth up one Elijah against eight hundred of Baals Priests, one Mica-jah against foure hundred of Ababs Prophets; one Atbanafus against many hundredes of Arrian Bishops; one John Hus against the whole Councell of Constance; Luther and the two witneses against many thoufands, &c.* And therefore I durst not neglect, much lesse despise any advertisement from him alone against so many; provided that the word of the Lord be found in his mouth, or pen. I come therefore to consider, and weigh what he saith to my selfe, without prejudice against him, and (I hope) without partiality to my selfe.

In his Epistle to the Reader, before his Answer to my Letter, he utterly misconstrueth the ground and scope, whether of this Letter, or of any other Letters of mine to him, *As if I wrote upon occasion of the griefe, which some friends concerived, That such an one as himselfe (publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved) shoud be exposed to the mercy of an howling Wildernes, in frost and snow, &c. And that my intent in writing was, to take off the edge of Censure from my selfe, by professeing in speech, and writing, That I was no procurer of his sorrowes, &c.* In which few lines, foure things present themselves, which if they be cleared, may cleare both his mistake of himselfe, and his cause, and together therewith the innocency of others.

1. When he speaketh of himselfe as one publickly acknowledg'd, [4] to be godly and dearely beloved, I did never perceive just ground for such publick acknowledgement. For before my coming into *New-England*, the godly-wise, and

vigilant Ruling-Elder of *Plymouth* (aged Mr. *Bruister*) had warned the whole Church of the danger of his spirit, which moved the better part of the Church, to be glad of his removall from them into the Bay. And in the Bay not long before my coming, he began to oppose the Kings Patent with much vehemency, (as he had done at *Plymouth* before;) which made the Magistrates to feare, they should have more to doe with him, then with a man publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved.

Soone after, when upon hearing of some Episcopall, and malignant practises against the Countrey, the Magistrates, and whole generall Court thought meet to take a tryall of the fidelity of the people (not by imposing upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie, That in case any should refuse, they might not betray them with place of publick Command; He vehemently withstood it, partly because it was Christs Prerogative to have his Office established by Oath; partly, because an Oath was a part of Gods worship, and many of the people being carnall (as he conceived) it was not meet to put upon them an Oath, which was an act of Gods worship. Upon such, and the like disturbances to the Civill Peace (for upon this sundry refused the Oath, and upon their refusall the Magistrates could not discerne how the people stood affected to the publick Safety) therefore, both the Magistrates, and sundry Elders (though I doe not remember my selfe to be one) advised the Church of *Salem*, not to proceed to choose him (as they were then about to doe) unto office in the Church. Yea and in *Salem* (though many of the Members were taken with him) some judicious amongst them told me, they could not choose him to office, because they found him to be (contrary to the Apostles rule) *widder;* selfe-pleasing, selfe-full, or (as it is translata-

ted) selfe-willed, *Tit.* 1. 7. Neverthelesse, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after the Church of *Salem* made suit to the Court, for a parcell of Land, which lay commodious for them: But the Court delayed to grant their request, becaufe the Church had refused to hearken to their motion, in forbearing the choice of M^r. *Williams*. Which so much incensed M^r. *Williams*, that he caufed [5] the Church to joyne with him, in writing Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof any of the Magistrates were members, to admonish their Magistrates of their breach of the rule of Justice, in not granting their Petition. Which following upon all the former disturbances raised by M^r. *Williams*, it still aggravated the former jealousies, which generally, the judicious sort of Christians had conceived of his selfe-conceited, and unquiet, and unlambelike frame of his Spirit: So that from first to last of my knowledge of him here, I cannot see, nor say, what ground he had of such a Testimony, as he giveth of himselfe, as of one *publickly acknowledged to be godly, and dearely beloved*.

2. When he maketh it an occasion of my excuse of my selfe, (from having an hand in his sufferings) that some friends were much grieved that such an one shoud be exposed to such sufferings.

I do beleeve indeed, that not some friends onely, but many were grieved at the unmoveable stiffeſſe, and headineſſe of his Spirit, that exposed him to ſuch ſufferings.

But he doth not well to say, that some friends were grieved, that one ſo publickly acknowledged, ſhould be exposed to ſuch ſufferings; thereby to intimate as if his ſufferings were greater then his deſeruingſ. For neither might ſuch friends be truely called his friends; nor was their judgement of any weight in his cauſe. For they cleaved to him, and his cauſe, not

out of judicious charity, but out of an itching levity, taken with every wind of new Doctrine: which soone after appeared. For within a short time, when his new Notions grew stale to them, they separated from him, (as he from them) and began to lisen after a more prodigious Minter of exorbitant novelties, (the very dregs of Familisme) held forth by one M^r. Gorton. Gorton at first arrived in our Bay, and continued a while in our Towne, till a reverend Minister in London, (M^r. Walker)^{*} sent over Directions to some friends, to demand an 100.^l debt of him, which he having borrowed of a Citizen, the Citizen bequeathed it to some good use, whereof M^r. Walker was called to some Trust. But then M^r. Gorton departed out of this Jurisdiction to Plymouth: and there beginning to spread some of his Opinions, to the disturbance of the Church, and fearing disturbance to himselfe, he came to Roade-Island; and there raisng some seditious disturbance against the Magistrates, he met with publick correction. From thence [6] therefore he went to Providence, the place where M^r. Williams, (and those some friends he spake of) sat downe. But those friends of M^r. Williams were soone taken with that greater Light, which they conceived was held forth by M^r. Gorton.

What kind of light that was came to our view upon this occasion: One or two of the Indian-Sagamores, who lived neare Providence, came over into the Bay, to offer the subjection of themselves, and their people, to the Government of the English, hoping by this means to avoyde the oppresion of the Narbagansets (their potent Neighbours) as also of

* The Rev. George Walker, for nearly forty years Rector of St. John, the Evangelist, in Watling-street, and a member of the Westminster Assembly. The biographer of Gorton questions the above statement, as repeated by Hubbard and Cotton Mather, apparently not aware that they both derived it from this nearly contemporaneous account. See Life of Gorton, by J. M. Mackie, in Sparks's American Biography, Second Series, vol. 5, page 324.

M^r. Gortons company, who took their lands from them. Afterwards those *Indians* complaining to our Magistrates of some further injury done to them by M^r. Gortons company; our Court sent over to M^r. Gortons company, requiring some of them to come over, and shew what right they had to those lands, which they had taken from the *Indians*, their Subjects. He and his company in stead of coming, or sending any to cleare their Right, sent two Books written by some of themselves, full of sundry heresies, and malignant blasphemies, against *Christ*, against his Churches, Ministers, Sacraments, Censures, and Magistrates: yet withall offered that if this Court would send their Agents over unto them, they would cleare their Right to the Land, which they took from the *Indians*. The Court therefore sent over some, with Commission to Treat with them; and because Gortons company had threatened the former Messengers with the offer of some violence, they therefore sent as many armed men with these, as might secure their Agents from injury: And in case they refused to shew the right, and equitie of their cause, then to bring some of the principall of them, by strong hand, to cleare it heare. When hither they were come, (not to digresse to another Story) Gorton, desiring libertie to speak his minde freely, held it forth (as the minde of himselfe, and his company,) (whereof those of M^r. Williams his friends were no small part;) *That Christ was Incarnate when Adam was made after Gods Image: For God had but one Image, and that Image was Christs. And this making of Adam in that Image, was the exinanition of Christ.* But when it was objected, that that exinanition of Christ was unto life in *Adam*, but Christ was to suffer exinanition unto death: He answered; *That Christ dyed when the Image of God dyed: and the Image of God dyed in Adams fall.*

7] But when it was further objected, That Christs death was the Price and Purchase of our Redemption; but the fall of *Adam* was not the Price of our Redemption, but the cause of our condemnation. He stopped, and would neither proceed to cleare his minde further, nor by any meanes be perswaded to revoke that hellish blasphemy. These, and many such like Tenents were vented by him, and his company: and this company was made up of those friends of M^r. *Williams*, who (as he faith) were grieved at his expofall to the mercy of the Wildernesse. Which I thought meet to declare, lest any shold thinke that his sufferings (considering the causes of them) were grievous or offensive to godly mindes.

Where by the way, a sincere-hearted humble Christian may easily discerne the vaste difference between the spirit of M^r. *Williams*, and of *John* the Apostle, in relating their sufferings by way of Banishment: *John* was a beloved Disciple, yea (by way of eminency) the Disciple whom Jesus loved: and He, for the testimony of Jesus, was banished by the bloody Emperour *Domitian*, into the Isle of *Patmos*, a defolate Wildernesse, destitute (for the most part) of Inhabitants: yet he maketh no exprefse mention of his Banishment, nor of the howling Wildernesse, nor of frost, and snow, and such winter miseries: *But (saith he) I was in the Isle of Patmos for the Testimony of Jesus.* But M^r. *Williams* being called by a weak man beloved in Christ, he aggravateth the banishment of such an one as himselfe, by all the sad exaggerations, which wit and words could well paint it out withall; to wit, *That he was, onely for the holy Truth of Christ Jesus, denied the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cobabitation upon the same common earth, yea and without mercy, and humane compassion exposed to winter miseries in an howling Wildernesse, in frost, and snow, and that amongst Barbarians.* So deeply

affected the sonnes of men can be in describing their own sufferings for themselves, and their own wayes, above what the children of God be in their farre greater sufferings for the Testimony of Jesus.

3. What causes moved the Magistrates so to proceed against him at that time, is fully declared by another faithfull and diligent hand, in another Treatise of that matter.³

But whereas he faith, *He was exposed to the mercies of an howling Wildernes in frost and snow, &c.*

The truth is, the Sentence of his Banishment out of the Patent [8] was pronounced against him in the Court before winter; and repaire was given him to tarry certain weeks (six or more) to prepare for his journey.⁴

In the meane time, some of his friends went to the place appointed by himselfe before hand, to make provision of housing, and other necessaries for him against his coming; otherwise he might have chosen to have gone either Southward to his acquaintance at Plymouth, or Eastward to *Pascatoque*, or *Aganimiticus*. And then the wildernes had been as no wildernes, (at least, no howling wildernes) where men sit downe under warme and dry Roofes, sheltred from the annoyance of frost, and snow, and other winter hardships.

4. When he faith, *That my selfe profest in speech and writing, that I was no procurer of his sorrowes.* I doe not beleive that I made any such profession at all, either in speech, or writing. For it was my serious intendment, (if it had been

³ On page 26 Cotton refers again to this Treatise, "penned by a reverend faithful Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at Rockfbury.)" This was the Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, but no mention of such a treatise is made by any of his biographers. For further discussion of this, see p. 26, note 9.

⁴ To appreciate the force of this reply it must be borne in mind that the Sentence of Banishment was not pronounced November 3, 1635, as stated by all the biographers of Williams, and by Arnold, Hist. R. I., vol. 1, p. 37, but September 3. See, after, p. 30, note 13. See also Mass. Col. Records, 1, 160.

the will of God to breath in such weake meanes for such an end) to have procured his unfained godly sorrow for his Errours in Judgement, and for his offensive disturbances of Churches, and Common-wealth. But this is that which I have professed, That I had no hand in procuring, or soliciting the Sentence of his Banishment. And that not for the cause, which he noteth in his marget, as if I had some reluctancy in my selfe, concerning the way of Persecution.

For 1. I did never doubt, that the way of persecution, (truly so called) that is, the affliction of others for righteousness sake, was utterly unlawfull.

2. I did never beleeve, that the sentence passed against him was an act of Persecution.

3. Nor did I ever see cause to doubt, but that in some cases, (such as this of his was,) Banishment is a lawfull, and just punishment: if it be in proper speech a punishment at all in such a Countrey as this is, where the Jurisdiction (whence a man is banished) is but small, and the Countrey round about it, large, and fruitfull: where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant, and profitable seats, then he leaveth behinde him. In which respect, Banishment in this Countrey, is not counted so much a confinement, as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much loose civill comforts, as change them. And as for spirituall liberties, (liberty [9] of Church Ordinances) they were a burden and bondage to his spiri here: And therefore he cast them off, before they left him; neither doth he to this day, look at it as a way of God, for any Christian man to look after the Ordinances of God in a Church-estate at all; As conceiving that the Apostacie of Antichrist hath so farre corrupted all, that there can be no recovery out of that Apostasie, till Christ shall send forth new Apostles to plant Churches anew.

But as for the true caufe why I medled not in his civill Censure, it was, chiefly because Civill Censures belong unto another Kingdome, then that which we are called to administer : (Civill Censures are not the weapons of our warfare :) and partly also because I was carried (as ſtill I am) with a compassion of his Person, and likewife of his wife, (a woman as then, of a meek and moideſt ſpirit) who a long time ſuffered in ſpirit, (as I was informed) for his offenſive course : which occationed him for a ſeaſon to withdraw communion in ſpirituall duties, even from her alſo, till at length he drew her to partake with him in the errore of his way.

But M^r. Williams affirmeth, *That in Letters past between him, and me, he proved, and exprefte, that if be had perifhed in that sorrowfull winters flight, onely the bloud of Christ could have wafhed me from the guilt of his.*

Anſw. That he did exprefte ſuch a thing in ſome Letters to me, as I doe not remember it, ſo neither will I deny it : but that he proved it, I may as ſafely deny it, as he boldly affirme it. Could he then have given any ſuch proothes, doubtleſſe he would not have concealed them now, when he undertaketh to cleare to the world the pretended innocence of himſelfe, and the ſuppoſed iniquitie of his ſuppoſed Perfecutors. How precious the bloud of Christ is to me, and how needfull (I bleſſe the Lord) my foule knoweth : but that I needed it to wafh away the guilt of any injurious proceedings againſt the bloud of M^r. Williams, (I ſpeake it in holy conſidence) I never diſcerned it to this day. The proothes which he alledgedeth in the ſequell for my hand in his Banishment, I ſhall (God willing) cleare them anon in due place. Meane while, what anſwers I made to him concerning the ſame in other Letters, he wiſely concealeth : but contenteth himſelfe to tell us, that my finall Anſwer was ; *That bad be perifhed*

in his flight, his bloud had been upon [10] his own head: It was his sinne to procure it, and his sorrow to suffer it.

If this was my finall Answere, it seemeth I gave him other former Answers: what they were I have now forgotten; but I suppose, had they beene insufficient, or impertinent, I should have heard of them.

But what is amisse in this finall Answer? The margent noteth it, "*as an unmercifull speech, of a mercifull man.*"

But when it shall please the Father of merices to soften the heart of M^r. Williams, and to give him an heart, and eare to hearken unto the wholesome Counsell of his true friends, he will at length see the speech was truly mercifull, as well as the man that spake it. *When a Fountaine is opened to Hierusalem for sinne, and for uncleannesse,* the Prophets who have deceived the people shall at length see, and acknowledge their errore, and being demanded the caufe of the wounds in their hands, They shall answere (each of them for himselfe) *thus was I wounded in the bouse of my Friends, Zach.* 13. 1. with verses 4, 5, 6. An heart loftened with the Bloud of Christ, will judge the wounds of his friends faithfull, *Prov.* 27. 6. I meane, luch reprooves for sinne, which though they may seeme to wound, yet wound to heale. *David* thought such smiting to be a kindnesse, yea an excellent Oyle, which doth not breake the head, but heale the heart, *Psal. 141.* 5.

There is one thing more in his Epistle to the Reader, which calleth for Answere:

It cannot now (faith he) be justly offensive, that finding this Letter publick, (by whose procurement I know not) I now present to publick view my formerly intended Answere.

Answ. It had not beene offensive to me, that he did present his Answere to publick view, if he found my Letter publick, without his own, or his friends procurement: especially

if his Answer had been returned in words of truth, and faithfulness. Which how farre they fall short of, I hope (by the help of Christ) will appeare in the sequell.

Meanwhile, I feare it is justly offensive to the Spirit of Grace, and Love, That whereas he judged me to allow my selfe, and others, to rest securely in the Doctrine, and Practise of bloody Persecution, that all this while (even for the space of nine or ten yeares) he suffered me to sleep so long so quietly under the guilt of such a [11] crying sinne. Nay, it may seeme by his own words, if he had not found my Letter publick, it may be doubted whether ever I should have heard any further word from him hereabouts, at all. If I had been esteemed as a Brother, sinne should not have been suffered to lie so long upon a Brother, *Levit. 19. 17.* If an enemy, yet the very Oxe or Asse of an enemy, is not to be suffered to lye so long groveling under his burden, *Deut. 22. 4.*

But when he addeth in the next sentence; *That be rejoyceth in the goodnesse, and wisdome of him, who is the Father of lights, and mercies, in ordering the season of his own present opportunitie of Answer.*

I confesse we on the contrary have cause to admire, and adore the wisdome, and dreadfull Justice of God herein, That seeing Mr. Williams hath been now as a branch cut off from the Church of Salem these many yeares, he shoulde bring forth no spirituall good fruits in due season: and that which he bringeth forth now at the last is bitter, and wild fruit: and that in such a season, when the Spirit of Error is let loose to deceive so many thousand soules of our English Nation: So that now their hearts are become as Tinder, ready to catch and kindle at every sparke of false light. Even so, O Father, because thy good pleasure is such, to let loose this Spirit of Error in the mouth of this Backslider, in the very hour and

power of darknesse : for these are the dayes of vengeance ; when the Antinomians deny the whole Law ; the Anti-Sabatarians deny the Morality of the fourth Commandement ; the Papists deny the Negative part of the second Commandement. It is a wofull opportunitie that God hath left Mr. *Williams* to, now to step in, and deny the Affirmative part of it also, (as the Papists doe the Negative) and so He and the Papists to combine together to evacuate the whole seconde Commandement altogether. For, take away (as Mr. *Williams* doth) all Instituted worship of God, as Churches, Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons, Members, publick Ministry of the Word, Covenant, Seales of the Covenant, (Baptisme, and the Lords Supper) the Censures of the Church, and the like, what is then left of all the Institutions, and Ordinances of God, which the Lord established in the seconde Commandement, against the Institutions, Images, and Inventions of men in his worship ? But it is an holy wisdome, and righteousness of the Lord, that he that refuseth the Communion with the Churches of the Saints, shoule [12] joyne in communion with the enemies of the Saints, even Anti-christians ; and that in such a worke, as to blot out and extinguish that holy seconde Commandement of the Law : The violating whereof kindleth the jealousie of the most High : and the observation thereof would have opened a doore of mercy to a thousand Generations ! It is no vaine word of our Saviour, *He that shall break one of the least Commandments, and shall Teach men so to doe, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of Heaven.*

This advice would I shut up this Point withall, (if I had any hope of an open eare in him to heare it) he that separateth from all Churches, and all Ordinances, let him at last separate also from himselfe : and so he shall then be better

able to discerne the way to returne againe unto holy Communion with the Lord, and his people.

Let me conclude this Preface with this Advertisement to the Reader, who may perhaps marvell, that I now (so much against my usuall custome) shoulde lay open the nakednesse of another to publick view. I blesse the Lord, I am not ignorant, That love covereth a multitude of offences: and that the Disciples of Christ, when they are reviled are taught to Bleſſe. And therefore were the caſe meerely mine own, and all the reproaches and flanders cast upon my ſelfe, had terminated in my ſelfe, I ſhould have been as a deafe man, and as a dumb man that openeth not his lips. But when through my ſides, not onely ſo many Elders, and Churches in this Countrey, who had as much (or more) influence into his ſufferings, as my ſelfe, (and yet none of us any further influence, then by private, and publick conviction of himſelfe, and of the demerit of his way;) yea when Courts of Justice ſuffer for Justice ſake: yea further, when the Truth and Righteousneſſe of God alſo ſuffer for iſticting just recompence of reward upon the diſturbers of Civill and ſacred Truth, and Peace: and under pretence of maintaining Liberty of Conſcience, Purity of Conſcience is violated, and deſtroyed: In ſuch a caſe as this, just it is, and equall, rather that the name of an evill-worker ſhould justly ſuffer, then that the name of God called upon Judgement ſeats, upon the Churches of Christ, and upon the Ministers of the Gofpel, ſhould unjuſtly ſuffer for his ſake.

MY Letter to M^r. *Williams*, (which he undertaketh to Examine, and Answer) began (it seemeth) with this Compellation of him, *Beloved in Christ*. For I considered, he had been not onely a member, but an Officer of the Church at *Salem*: and though from thence he was then Excommunicate; yet I took the Apostles Commandement for a Rule, *Account him not as an enemy, but Admonish him as a Brother*, 2 Thes. 3. 14. If a Brother of the Church, (though cast out of the Church, yet not cast out of Christ) then in Christ, at least in judgement of charity. And if in Christ (though but in judgement of charity, yet) in charity to be Beloved.

But (faith M^r. *Williams*) how can it be well-pleasing to Christ, that one beloved in Christ, should be so afflicted, and persecuted by himselfe, and others, (for such causes) as to be denied the common ayre to breath in, and a civill cobabitation upon the same common earth, yea and also without mercy, and humane compassion, be exposed to winter miseries in an howling Wildernesse?

Answ. If M^r. *Williams* may be Judge in his own cause, himselfe hath been persecuted without mercy, and without humane compassion: And which the more concerneth myselfe to enquire into, he hath been so persecuted by me, and some others; but chiefly (it should seeme) by me; for I onely am charged herewith by name: and those others, who ever they were, are not so much as described, much lesse exprely named. But such Priests, and Persons, as be thus partiall in the Law, the Holy Ghost threatneth to make them base, and contemptible in the eyes of all the People, Mal. 2. 9. Which the Lord give him to foresee, and feare, that he may timely prevent such a Judgement.

But to weigh his words particularly: Persecution is the affliction of another for Righteousnesse sake. Now two things it will be requisite for M^r. Williams to prove, to make good his charge. 1. That the caufe for which he suffered, was a cause of Righteousnesse. 2. That he suffered this Persecution, which he complaineth of, by me. And to make this latter charge good in such manner as he layeth it upon me, it were further requisite that he should prove two things more. 1. That my selfe was the principall mover and actor [14] in this his Persecution, (for I onely am singled out by name;) 2. That this hath been evidenced to him by two, or three witneses at least, if he account me for an Elder of a Church, 1 Tim. 5. 19. But whether he account me for an Elder, or no Elder, (I claime no priviledge of Office;) yet I require attendance to an eternal Law of morall Righteousnesse; *One witnesse shall not rise up against a man for any Iniquity, or for any finne: at the mouth of two witneses, or at the mouth of thre witneses, shall every word be established*, Deut. 15. 15. But on the contrary, if it doe appeare, that the cause for which he suffered was not for Righteousnesse sake: and that the affliction which he did suffer was not put upon him by me at all, much lesse in any eminent, and singular manner, then it will behoove M^r. Williams in Conscience to understand, that himselfe is the Perfector, as of other servants of God, so of my selfe especially. For it is a case judged by the Holy Ghost, that he who mocketh, or reproacheth any of the least of Christs little ones, for walking in his way, he is a Perfector, Gal. 4. 29. It hath been the lot of the faithfull of old to be tryed by cruell mockings, Heb. 11. 36. If a man be publickly accused to the world as a Perfector, in case the accusation be proved true, Persecution is a cruell, and crying finne: but if it be not proved, nor true, the false

accusation is a grievous Persecution, even a cruell mocking. But I shall referre the tryall of his accusation to the place himselfe appointed, where he giveth Instance of the cause of his sufferings.

Meane while, let him suspend his Marginall note, *That it is a monstrous Paradox, that Gods children shoud Persecute Gods children, and they that hope to live eternally with Christ Jesus in Heaven, shoud not suffer each other to live in this common ayre together.*

For though Gods children may not persecute Gods children, nor wicked men neither, for well-doing : yet if the children of God be found to walke in the way of the wicked, their sinne is the greater, because they sinne against greater light, and grace : and their Brethren (in Place) may justly afflict them for it : to deprive them, in some cases, not onely of the common ayre of the Countrey by banishment, but even of the common ayre of the world by death : & yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens with Christ Jefus. Yea what if a child of God were infected with a plague-fore, or some other contagious disease, may not their Brethren exclude [15] them the common ayre, both of their religious, and Civill Assemblies, and yet hope to live eternally with them in the Heavens? Truly there be some unsound, and corrupt opinions, and practises, (and that of him too) which are more infectious, and contagious, then any plague-fore.

That other Marginall note of his, (*What Christ Persecute Christ in New-England?*) calleth for another Anwer.

Christ doth not persecute Christ in *New-England*: For Christ doth not persecute any at all, (to speake in the proper fence of Persecution;) much lesse doth Christ persecute Christ. For though Christ may and doth afflict his own members; yet he doth not afflict (much lesse persecute) Christ in them,

C. F. Adams, commun.,
written in New-England.
i. 383-4.

but that which is left of old *Adam* in them, or that which is found of the seed of the Serpent in them. For even Satan may fill the heart of Church-members, *Act. 5. 3.* Yea breathe and act in an Elect Apostle, *Mat. 16. 22, 23.* And then the Lord Jesu may afflict in his members, that which he seeth in them not of his own.

But he proceeds, and asks further, (*Since M'. Cotton expecteth farre greater light then yet shineth*) whether upon the same grounds, and practice, if *Chriſt Jesus in any of his servants shall be pleased to bold forth a further light, shall be himſelfe find the mercy, and humanitie of a Civill, and temporall life, and being with them?*

Anſ. The greatest light that I expect is not above the Word, much leſſe against it: nor is it destructive to the Church, and Ordinances of Christ, established according to the Word, but instructive of them in the way of the word. If therefore Christ Jesus shall come in any of his servants, holding forth a further light to us, we truſt, that he that offereth us light, will give us (as hitherto he hath done) eyes to ſee it, and hearts to follow it. Light is discernable (through the Grace of the Father of Lights) by the children of light: The Spirit of the Prophets is diſcerned, and judged by the Prophets: Wiſdom is justified of her Children: When Judgement returneth to Righteousneſſe, all the upright in heart ſhall follow it: The Sheep of Christ that ſee his face, will ſee his Light, and heare his voyce: his Spirit of Truth will lead them into all truth. And yet because we all know in part, and Prophecy in part, we are taught of God in meekneſſe of wiſdom to instruct one another, (till light of Inſtruction be obſtinately rejeeted;) and to ſuffer [16] one another in diſferences of weakneſſe, till weakneſſe prove wilfulneſſe, and will not ſuffer Truth to live in Peace.

But what is all this to M^r. *Williams*? Hath he therefore not found the mercy, and humanity of Civill, and temporall life, and being amongst us, because Christ Jesus held forth by him a further light unto us?

So it should seeme, or else his Quære is nothing to the purpose; surely if it be a further light which is held forth by him, it is such a transcendent light, as putteth out all other lights in the world besides: as (they say) *Majus lumen extinguit minus*. The Churches of Christ have been wont to be counted lights, the Ministry, lights, the Sacraments, and Censures, lights. But this new light held forth by M^r. *Williams*, hath put out all these lights, yea and all possibilites of their shining forth againe, till the Restitution of new Apostles. And yet if he had held forth any light from the word of light to manifest this great new light to us, truly I hope the Lord would give us hearts, not to shut our eyes against the light, but to follow the Lambe whithersoever he goeth, and follow the light of his word whithersoever it leadeth us. Christian Magistrates, they also have been wonted to be counted the light of *Israel*: and Oaths likewise have been thought to give light to discerne the end of all Controversies: But by this new light, we may not accept from the Patents of Princes any light or direction where to sit downe, with their warrant, and leave, in forreine Plantations: Neither may we make use of the light of Oaths between Magistrates, and people, to discerne of the fidelity and constancy of the one to the other in times of danger. Where then shall his Marginall Note appeare?

M^r. Cotton (faith he) *expecting more light, must (according to his way of Persecution) persecute Christ Jesus, if he bring it.*

Doth M^r. *Williams* hold me so farre forsaken of common fence, as to frustrate, and destroy mine own expectations? If

I expect more light, must I (according to mine own way) needs Persecute him that brings it, yea persecute Christ himselfe, if he bring it? But thus when a mans head runneth round, he thinketh all the House runneth round about him.

But what is my way of Persecution, according to which, I expecting more light, must needs persecute him that brings it? It is but a few days agoe, since there came to my hand a book, published [17] (as is said) by M^r. Williams, and entituled, *The Bloody Tenent*. In which M^r. Williams (without my privity) published a private Letter of mine, and therewith a Confutation of it, touching Persecution for cause of Conscience. In my stating of that Question, (which he relateth in the 7th Page of that Book) he declareth my Judgement to be so farre from persecuting any for cause of Conscience, that he layeth it downe for my first Conclusion; *That it is not lawfull to persecute any for Conscience sake rightly informed [that is to say, bringing more, and true light.]*

2. *For an erroneous and blind Conscience, (even in fundamental, and weighty Points) it is not lawfull to persecute any, till after Admonition once or twice, according to the Apostles direction, Tit. 3. 10, 11. That so such a man being convinced of the dangerous error of his way; if he still persist (being condemned of himselfe, ver. 11.) it may appear, be is not persecuted for Cause of Conscience, but for sinning against his own Conscience.*

3. *In things of lesse moment, whether Points of Doctrine or worship, if a man bold them forth in a spirit of Christian meeknesse and love, (though with zeale and constancy) be is not to be persecuted, but tolerated, till God may be pleased to manifest his Truth to him, Phil. 3. 17. Rom. 14. 11, 12, 13, 14.*

4. *But if a man bold forth or profess any error, or false way, with a boisterous, and arrogant spirit, to the disturbance of Civill*

Peace, he may justly be punished according to the measure of the disturbance caused by him.

This is that way of Persecution which M^r. *Williams* expresseth to be mine. In all which I durst appeale to M^r. *Williams* his own Conscience, (were it not Leavened with over-deepe prejudice) whether in all this way there be any crevise opening a doore for the Persecution of Christ himselfe bringing further light?

Let no man take it amisse, that (in the Parenthesis) I intiate, the Conscience of M^r. *Williams* in this case to be leavened with overmuch prejudice. For if extreme prejudice were not predominant in him in this case, I should stand amazed how a man of understanding could out of such Conclusions make up this Inference, which he gives in the Title of the Chapt. pag. 7. *That I doe professedly maintaine Persecution for Cause of Conscience.* I that doe exprefly, professedly deny Persecution of any, even of Hereticks, unleſſe it be [18] when they come to perfift in heretic, after conviction, against conscience; how can I be ſaid to maintaine Persecution for Cause of Conscience? But oh the wofull perverſeneſſe and blindneſſe of a Conscience, when it is left of God, to be ſo farre transported with prejudice, as to judge a Cause of Conscience, and a caufe againſt Conscience to be all one.

For the shutting up of his Chapter, he is pleaded to Commitment upon a phraſe in my Letter, wherein I styled my ſelfe a man of uncircumcized lips. And he doth acknowledge it to be *an holy Character of an heavenly Spirit, to make an ingenuous, and true acknowledgement of an uncircumcized lip.* Yet (faith he) *that discerning Spirit, whicb God graciously vouchſafeth to them that tremble at his Word, ſhall finde, that not onely the will-worſhips of men may be painted, and varnished over with the glittering ſbew of Humilitie,* Colof. 2. *but even Gods deareſt*

servants (eminent for bumility, and meeknesse) may yet be troubled with a swelling of spirituall pride, out of the very sence of their bumilitie, &c. Humilitie is never in seafon to set up superstition, or persecute Gods children.

Answer. I could intreat some or other of M^r. Williams his acquaintance (whose words may finde better acceptance with him, then mine doe) to perswade him, not to attribute too much to his own Spirit of discerning; which though he truely faith, God doth vouchsafe to them that tremble at his word: yet I never read, nor heard, that God did vouchsafe a Spirit of discerning to any that are so farre from trembling at the word, that they doe not vouchsafe to heare the word from the mouth of so many thousand faithfull Ministers of the Gospel. As for me, I desire not to neglect any word from the mouth of M^r. Williams, (upon what pretence soever spoken) that putteth me in minde of spirituall pride, arising out of the very sence of humilitie. Such smiting shall not breake my head.

But when he concludeth with this Aphorisme; *Humilitie is never in seafon to set up superstition, or to persecute Gods children.*

I desire it may be considered, what is Superstition? what is Persecution? and whether my Letter unto him tended to set up the one, or to set forward the other?

Superstition is properly *cultus supra statutum*, which I speake not from the Etymology of the word, (for I know Latinists doe otherwise [19] derive it) but from the nature of the thing. And what is Persecution? It hath been answered above, the affliction of any for their Righteousnesse sake. If it appeare in the sequele, that my Letter tended either to set up any worship of God, which he hath not appointed, or to afflict any for their Righteousnesse sake, then I will confess

it tended to set up Superstition, and Persecution: And the humilitie which he acknowledgeth to be exprefed in my Letter, I shall acknowledge to be out of season: Meane while,
*Affirmani incumbit Probatio.*⁵

TO C H A P. II.

His second Chapter is spent in answering to a double charge, which he faith, he obſerveth, I laid against him. Though in very Truth, I layd neither of them downe as charges against him, but as discharges to my ſelfe from expecting that *He ſhould vouchſafe to hearken to my voyce, who had refuſed to hearken both to the voyce of the body of the whole Churche of Salem (whereof he was a member) and to the voyces of ſo many Elders, and bretbren of other Churches.*

But ſuppoſe I did charge him with a double finne in refuſing to hearken to this double voyce, (though I did not ſay it was a finne:) how doth he discharge himſelfe? *For neglect of the former, he excuſeth himſelfe by the charge of his Office, which lay upon him, on a Faſt-day to diſcover to them eleven publick finnes, as cauſes of the preſent, and publick calamities. Which moſt of the Churche ſeemed at firſt to aſſent unto, untill afterwards, the greater part of the Churche (whether for feare of Persecution, or otherwife) was ſwayed, and bowed to praćtice ſuch things, which with ſighes and groanes many of them mourned under.*

⁵ The curious play upon words at the beginning of this paragraph is characteristic of the age. The common derivation of Superstition is from superstites. Compare Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 2,

28: *Nam qui totos dies precabantur, et immolabant, ut ful fibi liberi ſuperftites eſſent, ſuperftitioſi ſunt appellati: quod nomen pollea latius patuit.* Cotton, when at College, was a famous Latinist.

But will this indeed discharge an Elder of the Church before the Lord, from coming into the presence of the Church, when they send for him, because the greater part of them, are bowed, and swayed for feare of Persecution, to slip, and slide, and to say and practise that, whiche with fighes and groanes they mourned under? Why then, if the Wolfe come, and scatter the sheepe, and they slip out of the way, let the Shepheard fly, and leave them; that the word of the Lord Jesu[m] might be fulfilled; *He that is an Hireling, and not the Shepheard, 20] whose own the sheepe are not, he feeth the Wolfe coming, and leaveth the sheepe, and fleeth, and the Wolfe catcheth them, and scattereth the sheepe, Job. 10. 12.*

Or will it goe for currant Doctrine before the Lord, that if the greater part of a Church fall (through feare, or otherwise) into sinne, and such a sinne, which they mourne under with fighes, and groanes, and which in it selfe is not hainous, that then they doe *ipso facto*, cease to be a Church, and utterly to be cast out? Why then let the Covenant between the Lord and his Church be no more reputed any branch of the Covenant of Grace, but let it stand and fall as a Covenant of workes.

But surely if the greater part of the Church were gone astray, I should think it would well become the faithfulness[e] of a Church-Elder, to haften to them, (especially when he is lovingly and respectively sent for) and to convince them of the error of their way before the Lord, and to seek to bring them back againe to the Bishop and Shepheard of their soules. Sure I am, that in a case of greater defection of the Churches of *Galatia*, then M^r. Williams imagined was found in the Church of *Salem*. *Paul* did not reject them, but professed; *I desire (faith he) to be present with you now, and to change my voyce, for I stand in doubt of you*, Gal. 4. 20.

M^r. Williams acknowledgeth in the next Paragraph, *That the Church of Colosse might say to Archippus; Take heed to thy*

Ministery, and that Archippus might negligently, and proudly refuse to hearken to them: but for his cause, his faithfulness, and uprightnesse to God, and the soules of the people will witnesse for him, when his soule shall come to Hezekiahs cause on his deathbed, and in the great day approaching.

I do not know but that *Archippus* might as justly refuse to hearken to the Church of *Colofe*, as M^r. *Williams* to the Church of *Salem*. What though *Colofe* was more eminent in gifts than *Salem*, yet the mutuall power, and subjection of Pastor and people, dependeth not upon eminency of gifts, but upon the Institution of Christ, and their mutuall Covenant, and Relation. If it had been a negligent and proud part in *Archippus* (as M^r. *Williams* confesseth) to refuse to hearken to the lawfull voyce of the Church of *Colofe*, admonishing him of his slacknesse in his Ministery: I know not but it might be such a like part in M^r. *Williams* to refuse to hearken to the voyce of the Church of *Salem*, admonishing him to 21] take heed of deserting his Ministery. Whether is a greater finne in a Minister, not to fulfill his Ministery, or to desert his Ministery? Neither doe I know but that *Archippus* might have pretended the like evasions with M^r. *Williams*, if not fairer. For he might plead there were amongst them, such as spoyled them through Philosophy, and vaine deceit, after the Traditions of men, and Rudiments of the world, and not after Christ, (*Col. 2. 8.*) that beguiled them also in a voluntary humilitie, and worship of Angels, not holding the Head, (*ver. 18, 19.*) Yea so farre that themselves come to be dogmatized with the Traditions of men, *ver. 20, 21, 22.* And why might not then *Archippus* as justly refuse to heare the Church of *Colofe*, as M^r. *Williams* refuse to heare the Church of *Salem*?

Let not M^r. *Williams* please himselfe in suiting his faithfulness, and uprightnesse to *Hezekiah*s cause. *Hezekiah* faith-

fully, and uprightly endeavoured, and (through grace) procured the reformation of the Apostate Church of *Hierusalem* in the dayes of his Father *Abaz*: But M^r. *Williams* in stead of reforming one Church, renounceth all.

For his neglect of hearkening to the second voyce, the voyce ana testimony of so many Elders, and Brethren of other Churches; He saith (because he truely esteemeth the Persons) be will not answer the Argument of numbers, and multitudes against one, as our men are wont to answere the Popish universalitie, that God stirreth up sometimes one Elijah against eight hundred of Baals Priests, &c. But this be saith that David himselfe, and the Princes of Israel, and 30000. of Israel carrying up the Arke, were not to be hearkened unto in their boly intentions of rejoynings, and triumphs, when the due order of the Lord was wanting to them. In whiche case one Scripture in the mouth of a Mechanick, is to be preferred before a whole Councell.

Answ. I will not here observe (as M^r. *Williams* doth in a like case, in Chap. 38. of his *Bloudy Tenent*) his hast and light attention to the Scriptures which himselfe alledgedeth. The Text speaketh but of 450. of *Baal's* Priests, 1 Kings 18. 19. Now for him to multiply them to 800, is to fetch in also the Prophets of the Groves, (the Prophets of *Jeroboams* Calves) whom the Text expressly distinguishest from the Prophets of *Baal*.

But to let that passe, as not materiall to the Argument, (no more then the misquotation, which he observeth of *Titus* for *Timothy*) [22] we will not reply as the Papists doe against singe witnessesse, let him call for fire from Heaven as *Elijah* did, and we will submit the testimonies of many to one singe witnessse: No we call not for Miracles at his hand: but let him produce one testimony of holy Scripture (rightly understood, and applyed) against the advice, and voyce of those Elders, and Brethren, and then though he be but one (yea

though that one were but a Mechanick too) we shall gratifie his demand, and (by the Grace of Christ) be ready rather to hearken to him, then require that he shoulde hearken to us.

Meanwhile, we answer him as the Apostle did to the *Corinthians*, (1 Cor. 14. 36.) *What, came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you onely?*

It is true, *David* and the Princes, and the 30000. of *Israel*, were not to be hearkened unto, nor followed in their disorderly carrying of the Arke; because the word of the Lord had given expresse order to the contrary, requiring that the *Kobathites* shoulde beare the Arke upon their shoulders, and not touch it, least they dye, *Num. 4. 15.* Let him shew us the like order violated by us, and we shall freely excuse him (yea and justifie him) in not hearkening to us, nor following of us.

But suppose some one Prophet, or Brother of *Israel*, had discerned the disorder of *David*, and of the whole Congregation of the 30000. of *Israel*, and had therefore not onely refused to follow them, but had proceeded further (as many of Christs Disciples did with him, *Job. 6. 66.*) to goe back from them with an utter Apostacie, and to walke no more with them, no not though they were willing to reforme their disorder, if any were made knowne to them? Would *Perez Vzzah* have justified that? Or did that disorder of *David*, and of that Congregation of *Israel*, dischurche them all from fellowship with God, or discharge their Brethren from having any fellowship with them, as with the Church of God?

TO CHAP. III.

His third Chapter is taken up in answering to a Phrase in my Letter, in which I had said, *I endeavoured to shew him the sandiness of those grounds, upon which he had banished himself from the fellowship of all the Churches in this Countrey.* [23] The summe of his Answer is, *That his grounds were the firme rocke of the Truth of Jesus, and that my endeavours to prove them sandy, are but the weake, and uncertain sand of mans Invention, which shall therefore perish, and burne like hay, or stubble; And the Rocky strength of his grounds shall appeare in the Lords season, and that my selfe also may yet confess so much, as I have (since I came to New-England) confess the sandiness of the gronnds of many of my Practises in Old-England: and the rockiness of their grounds that witnessed against me, and them: for Instance, that himselfe had discovered to me, and other servants of God, his grounds against the use of the Common Prayer Booke: whicb though they then seemed sandy to me, yet since I have acknowledged to be rocky, and have seene cause so to publish to the world in my Discourse to M^r. Ball,⁶ against set formes of Prayer.*

For a reply, let me begin where he leaveth; How ready he is to build upon sandy grounds, may appeare by this very Passage, where he maintaineth his rockiness. For here he

⁶ The Rev. John Ball, of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, whose Treatise entitled a "Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, in a plain and modell Dispute touching the Unlawfulness of flinted Liturgy and set Form of Common Prayer, Communion in mixed Assemblies," &c., was published in 1640. This work was in part an expansion of the "brief Discourse" to which Cotton replied, which was circulated in manu-

script, a common practice at that day. See Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2, 670. Fuller's *Worthies*, 2, 232. He also wrote against Can, of Amiferdam. Cotton, at the clofe of his "Reasons for his Removal to New-England," requests that his "dear affection" may be prefente to "Mr. Ball," but Dr. Young supposes that Thomas Ball is here intended. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusettis*, p. 443.

avoucheth, I have seen cause to publish to the world, the rockiness of his grounds in a Discourse to M^r. Ball againſt ſet Formes of Prayer.

What rocky ground doe you thinke this Assertion of his standeth upon? I know no other but this; He findeth ſuch a Discouerſe published to the world: and he thence concludeth (for other Grounds he hath none) *that I published that Discouerſe, and that I ſaw cause to publish it:* both which hang upon that ground like ropes of ſand. The truth is, I did not publish that Discouerſe to the world, much leſſe did I ſee cause to publish it upon the Grounds he ſpeaketh of. A briefe Discouerſe in defence of ſet formes of Prayer was penned by M^r. Ball, much briefer then that which ſince is put forth in Print. That briefe Discouerſe a religious Knight^v ſent over, (whether to my ſelfe, or to a Gentleman of note then dwelling in my house, I remember not) but with desire to heare our judgement of it. At his requeſt I drew up a ſhort Anſwer, and ſent one Copie of it to the Knight, and another to M^r. Ball, divers yeares agoe. How it came (in proceſſe of time) to be published to the world, or by whom, I doe not know. And yet M^r. Williams doubteth not to affirme it, that *I published that Discouerſe to the world, and ſaw cause to doe it.* Rocky ſpirits can exprefſe all their conceits, in rocky firmneſſe, though upon sandy conjectures.

Besides, when he faith, *That himſelfe discovered to me, and to other [24] ſervants of God, his grounds againſt our uſing of the Common Prayer; whicb then ſeemed sandy to us, but now in New-England, I have acknowledged to be rocky in my Discouerſe to M^r. Ball.* I could haue wiſhed he had exprefſed, what grounds thoſe were, which he discovered to us; For my ſelfe

⁷ Probably Sir Henry Vane, the younger, whose relations with Cotton were always of the moſt intimate nature. Vane had returned to England in 1637.

I can call to minde no such matter, that ever I heard, or received from him, either by word, or writing, any folide grounds against that Practise. But this I am sure of, that the grounds of altering my judgement touching that practise, did chiefly stand upon the exposition of the second Commandement; which if I should say, I received from him, I should greatly feare my forehead were more rocky than his grounds were. I thinke it no disgrace to change either my judgement or practise upon better grounds then I formerly discerned. Nor would I thinke it a disgrace to learne any grounds of truth, and to profess that I had learned them from himselfe, if so I had done. But sure I am, it hath not beene wont to be the manner of the servants of God to upbraid their Brethren, with their Retractions of their former Aberrations.

I have read of the Churches of *Judea*, that when they heard *Paul* now preached the Faith, which once he destroyed, they glorified God for him, (*Gal. 1. 23, 24.*) but I never read, that any of the Churches of Christ, or any sincere member of the Churches, did ever upbraid *Paul* for his former Persecution, or for his present change.

The other part of the Chapter, he spendeth in relating the grounds of the sentence of his Banishment, and in the avouchment of his confidence of the firmnesse of them.

The grounds of the sentence of his Banishment, some whereof *He saith I am pleased to discouer in the Letter, and others not to mention; He saith were rigibly summed up by one of the Magistrates after his publick Tryall, and Answers.*

M'. Williams (aid that publick Person) boldeth forth these fourre particulars.

1. *That we have not our Land by Patent from the King, but that the Natives are the true owners of it; and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by Patent.*

2. That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Person to sweare, to pray, as being actions of Gods worship.

25] 3. That it is not lawfull to beare any of the Ministers of the Parish-Asssemblies in England.

4. That the Civill Magistrates Power extends onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward state of men, &c.

These particulars he boeth, that as he maintained the rockie strength of them to his own, and other Consciencies satisfaction: So (through the Lords affiance,) he shall be ready not onely to be bound, and banished, but to dye also in New-England, as for most holy Truths of God in Chrl Jefus.⁸

It was not my intent in that Letter which he examineth, to discusse the Grounds of his Civill Banishment at all, neither did I discusse one or other of them. And it is a preposterous shifting of the State of the Question, to put it upon me to give account of the caufes of his Banishment, who neither did banish him, nor provoked the Court to banish him out of the Countrey. The Magistrates and Deputies of the Common-wealth (who were then the Members of that Court) are all of them of age, and able themselves to give account of their own actions. To them or some of them he should

⁸ According to Governor Winthrop, Williams was charged at the General Court held in July, 1635, with holding, 1: That the Magistrates ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did distract the civil peace; 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c.; 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the Sacrament, nor after meat, &c. At the sission of the Court in September, he was further charged with writing letters

against the magistrates, and with persuading his own church to renounce communion with the churches in the Bay. See Winthrop, vol. 1, pp. 162-171. But it is clear from the account above, in which Williams himself says, that the grounds of his banishment "were rightly summed up," as well as from the statement of Cotton, that the final proceedings were not based in those charges simply, but upon the whole antecedent action of the Court. This removes the apparent discrepancy between the statements of Winthrop and Cotton.

in reason have addressed himselfe for satisfaction in this case (if any were due) and not to me, who am as seldome present at any Civill Court, (if not more seldome) then any man of our calling in Towne or Countrey, where the Courts are kept. It were more then *Ægyptian* bondage to me, and more then Pharaonicall tyranny in him, to exact of me, an account of all the capitall, or notable sentences of Judgement, which passe in all the Civill Courts of Justice in the Countrey, unlesse I had a calling to sit amongst them.

But why did I then endeavour in my Letter to *shew him the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which he had banished himselfe, &c.* If I did not meane to declare, and discusse the causes of his Banishment ?

He doth very well, and wisely to expresse the Grounds upon which I said he banished himselfe with an, &c. For he knows that if he had related my whole sentence in my own words, he had cut off himselfe from all opportunitie of pleading with me the causes of his Civill Banishment.

My words are plaine,— *I endeavour to shew you the sandinesse of those grounds, upon which you have banished your selfe from the fellowship of all the Churches in these Countreyes.*

It is one thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the [26] fellowship of all the Churches in the Countrey ; another thing to banish ones selfe (or to be banished) out of the Countrey. There be at this day that banish (and separate) themselves from all the Churches in the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the Countrey : and there be that are banished out of the Countrey, and yet are not banished out of the fellowship of all the Churches in the Countrey. Himselfe hath separated (and so banished himselfe) from the fellowship of all the Churches in the world : and yet he hath not banished himselfe out of the world.

But though it be impertinent to my Letter to discusse the grounds of his Civill Banishment: yet since he is pleased (by hook or crook) to draw it in, I referre the Reader for Answer to a full Treatise of that Argument, penned by a reverend faithfull Brother, (the Teacher of the Church at *Roxbury*;)⁹ and withall as I have touched somewhat of it above in Anwer to his Preface, so I shall speak a word or two more unto it here.

Whom that eminent Magistrate was, that so summed up the grounds of M^r. *Williams* his Banishment in those foure Particulars above mentioned, M^r. *Williams* doth wisely conceale his name, lest if he were named, he should be occasioned to beare witnesse against such fraudulent expression of the Particulars: whereof some were no causes of his Banishment at all, and such as were caufes, were not delivered in such generall Tearmes. For in *universalibus latet Dolus*. It is evident the two latter causes which he giveth of his Ban-

⁹ The precise language here used leaves no room for doubt that the apostle Eliot is the person to whom reference is made. Eliot was "Teacher" of the church of which Thomas Weld, for some time was "Pastor." In the early New England churches the two offices were carefully distinguished. There exists no trace, that I have been able to discover, of any such "full Treatise" by Eliot of the grounds of Williams's banishment. It was not uncommon, at that period, for works to be circulated in manuscript, as in the case of Mr. Ball's Discourse, before referred to, but it is not easy to see why Cotton, in a book published in London, should "referre the Reader," to an unprinted treatise on this side the Atlantic.

It is a noteworthy fact that Eliot him-

self, a few years later, was called to account before the magistrates for consenting to the publication of a work which they found to be "full of seditious principles and notions in regard to all established governments in the Christian world." This work, "The Christian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ," though not published till 1659, was sent over to England in manuscript nine or ten years before. Eliot holds that civil Rulers are "keepers of both Tables," and "are eminently concerned to maintain the purity of Religion, with all care and power." The book gave offence on account of certain passages "relating to kingly Government in England." This work is reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., 3d Series, vol. ix.

ishment, were no causes at all, as he expreſſeth them. There are many knowne to hold both theſe Opinions, That it is not lawfull to beare any of the Minifters of the Parish Aſſemblies in England, and that the Civill Magiftrates power extendeth onely to the bodies, and goods, and outward eſtates of men: and yet they are tolerated not onely to live in the Commonwealth, but also in the fellowship of the Churches.

The two former, though they be not ſo much noyſed, yet there be many, if not moft, that hold, That we have not our Land, meerly by right of Patent from the King, but that the Natives are true owners of all that they poſſeffe, or improve. Neither doe I know any amonſt us, that either then were, or now are of another minde.

And as for the other Point; That it is not lawfull to call a wicked Person to ſwear, or pray.

27] Though that be not commonly held, yet it is knowne to be held of ſome, who yet are tolerated to enjoy both Civill, and Church-liberties amonſt us.

To come therefore to Particulars: Two things there were, which (to my beſt obſervation, and remembrance) cauſed the Sentence of his Banishment: and two other fell in, that haſtened it.

1. His violent and tumultuous carriage againſt the Patent.¹⁰

¹⁰ The peculiar views entertained by Williams respecting the Patent rights granted to the colonies by the English king were firſt expreſſed during his reſidence at Plymouth. He preſented to Governor and Aſſitants of that Colony a treatie, in which according to Winthrop, he disputed "their right to the lands they poſſeffed here, and concluded that, claiming by the king's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwife, ex-

cept they compondued with the natives." It would feem that this treatie, which, according to the account that Williams afterwards gave was only written for the private ſatisfaction of the governor and magiftrates of Plymouth, was never printed, but after the return of Williams to Salem, in 1633, it was brought by ſome means to the notice of the Maſſachufetts authorities. At a meeting of the governor and aſſitants held at Boston, Dec.

By the Patent it is, that we received allowance from the King to depart his Kingdome, and to carry our goods with us, without offence to his Officers, and without paying custome to himselfe.

By the Patent, certain select men (as Magistrates, and Freemen) have power to make Lawes, and the Magistrates to execute Justice, and Judgement amongst the People, according to such Lawes.

By the Patent we have Power to erect such a Government of the Church, as is most agreeable to the Word, to the estate

27, 1633, the treatise was subjected to examination, and having taken the advice of some of the most judicious ministers, "who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption," the court gave order that the offender should be brought before them at their next meeting, to be censured. "There were," says Winthrop, "three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended: 1, for that he charged King James to have told a solemn publick lie, because in his Patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered the land: 2, for that he charged him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian world: 3, for that he did personally apply to our present king, Charles, these three places in the Revelations, viz.: [these passages are not given.] Winthrop 1, 122.

Williams wrote a letter of explanation which was presented at the next meeting of the court, Jan. 24, 1634, "when," says Winthrop, "with the advice of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Willson, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book, (which, being written in very obscure

and implicative phrases, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be so evil as at first they seemed.—Whereupon they agreed, that, upon his retraction, etc., on taking an oath of allegiance to the king, etc., it should be passed over." Winthrop, 1, 123.

The next mention of Williams, in connection with the Patent, is under date of Nov. 27, 1634, when the assistants met at the governor's to advise about the defacing of the cross in the ensign at Salem. "It was likewise informed," says Winthrop, "that Mr. Williams of Salem had broken his promise to us, in teaching publicly against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country &c, and for uful terming the churches of England anti-christian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next court." Winthrop, 1, 151.

Williams was also before the court April 30, and July 8, 1635, but on neither of these occasions was the question of the Patent agitated, nor is there any specific reference to it in the final sentence.

of the People, and to the gaining of Natives (in Gods time) first to Civility, and then to Christianity.

To this Authority established by this Patent, *Englyssh-men* doe readily submit themselves: and foraine Plantations (the French, the Dutch, and Swedijsh) doe willingly transact their Negotiations with us, as with a Colony established by the Royall Authority of the State of *England*.

This Patent, Mr. *Williams*, publickly, and vehemently preached againstst, as containing matter of falsehood, and injustice: Falshood in making the King the first Christian Prince who had discovered these parts: and injustice, in giving the Countrey to his *Englyssh* Subjects, which belonged to the Native Indians. This therefore he pressed upon the Magistrates and People, to be humbled for from time to time in dayes of solemne Humiliation, and to returne the Patent back againe to the King. It was answered to him, first, That it was neither the Kings intendement, nor the *Englyssh* Planters to take possession of the Countrey by murther of the Natives, or by robbery: but either to take possession of the voyd places of the Countrey by the Law of Nature, (for *Vacuum Domicilium cedit occupanti:*) or if we tooke any Lands from the Natives, it was by way of purchase, and free consent.

A little before our coming, God had by pestilence, and other contagious diseases, swēpt away many thoufands of the Natives, [28] who had inhabited the Bay of *Massachusetts*, for which the Patent was granted. Such few of them as survived were glad of the coming of the *Englyssh*, who might preserve them from the opprefſion of the *Nabargansets*. For it is the manner of the Natives, the stronger Nations to opprefſe the weaker.

This anſwer did not ſatisfie Mr. *Williams*, who pleaded, the Natives, though they did not, nor could ſubdue the Coun-

trey, (but left it *vacuum Domicilium*) yet they hunted all the Countrey over, and for the expedition of their hunting voyages, they burnt up all the underwoods in the Countrey, once or twice a yeare, and therefore as Noble men in *England* possessed great Parkes, and the King, great Forrests in *England* onely for their game, and no man might lawfully invade their Propriety: So might the Natives challenge the like Propriety of the Countrey here.

It was replied unto him. 1. That the King, and Noble men in *England*, as they possessed greater Territories then other men, so they did greater service to Church, and Common-wealth.

2. That they employed their Parkes, and Forrests, not for hunting onely, but for Timber, and for the nourishment of tame beasts, as well as wild, and also for habitation to sundry Tenants.

3. That our Townes here did not disturb the huntings of the Natives, but did rather keepe their Game fitter for their taking; for they take their Deere by Traps, and not by Hounds.

4. That if they complained of any straites wee put upon them, wee gave satisfaction in some payments, or other, to their content.

5. We did not conceive that it is a just Title to so vast a Continent, to make no other improvement of millions of Acres in it, but onely to burne it up for pastime.

But these Answers not satisfying him, this was still pressed by him as a Nationall finne, to hold to the Patent, yea, and a Nationall duty to renounce the Patent: which to have done, had subverted the fundamental State, and Government of the Countrey.

2. The second offence, which procured his Banishment, was occasioned as I touched before. The Magistrates, and

other members of the Generall Court upon Intelligence of some Episcopall, and malignant practises against the Countrey, they made an order of Court to take tryall of the fidelitie of the People, (not by imposing [29] upon them, but) by offering to them an Oath of Fidelitie: "that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not be trust them with place of publick charge, and Command. This Oath when it came abroad, he vehemently withheld it, and dissuaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christs Prerogative, to have his Office established by Oath: partly because an oath was a part of Gods worship, and Gods worship was not to be put upon carnall persons, as he conceived many of the People to be." So by his Tenent neither might Church-members, nor other godly men, take the Oath, because it was the establishment not of Christ, but of mortall men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because in his eye they were but carnall. So the Court was

¹¹ Cotton here repeats the assertion made once before (p. 4), that this "Oath of Fidelitie" was not imposed, but offered. The form of the oath (see Majis. Col. Records, 1, 117,) furnishes no ground for this distinction. From the words which Cotton adds: "that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not be trust them with place of publick charge, and Command," it would seem that he regarded the oath as designed only for persons accepting public office. But the oath was required of all free-men. The "Freemans Oath" was enacted in May, 1634, and was in addition to the "Residents Oath" previously preferred by the Assistants.

The error into which Cotton here falls seems hardly to deserve the severe stricture of Backus: "Indeed when I come to find how the truth of this mat-

ter was, by the colony records, and to think that Mr. Cotton had them at his door when he wrote, I am the most shocked about him by this publication of his against Mr. Williams, of any thing I ever met with concerning him."—Backus, Hist. N. E., vol. 1, p. 61.

¹² Mr. Knowles, quoting the foregoing passage erroneously refers it to the "Bloody Tenent Washed." See Life of Roger Williams, p. 67. In this mistake he is followed by the other biographers of Williams. Mr. Knowles seems also to misunderstand Backus as attending to the assertion of Cotton that the oath at first was only offered, but Backus is far from making any such admission. So far as the ground taken by Williams was concerned, the question as to the form of the oath was evidently of no consequence.

forced to desist from that proceeding : which practise of his was held to be the more dangerous, because it tended to unsettle all the Kingdomes, and Common-wealths in Europe.

Respecting this ground see the statement on page 4, that Williams withheld the oath of Fidelity " partly because it was Christs Prerogative to have his office established by Oath ; partly, because an Oath was a part of Gods worship ; " and on page 55, to the same effect. Winthrop says, under date of April 30, 1635, "The governour and assistants sent for Mr. Williams. The occasion was, for that he had taught publicly, that a Magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain." Winthrop, I., 158. In view of the precise agreement of these accounts, I see no grounds whatever for the remark of Mr. Knowles, that " The reasons assigned by Mr. Cotton for Mr. Williams's opposition to the oath are, we suspect, not all the reasons which really moved him to this course," Life of Roger Williams, page 67. Mr. Knowles is of the opinion, which Arnold adopts, (Hist. R. I., I., 31,) that the opposition of Williams to the oath arose in part from the fact " that it might be understood to claim for the Court an authority superior to the Charter," but this surely was not a consideration likely to weigh with one who denied the validity of the Charter itself. Still less is there any ground for the further conjecture of Mr. Knowles, that the objection of Williams to the oath may have arisen from the fact that, being designed to guard against " Episcopall and malignant practices," it seemed to restrain liberty

of conscience. Life of Roger Williams, page 68.

The opinions of Williams respecting oaths were expressed by himself with great clearness in a work published a few years later : " Although it be lawfull (in case) for Christians to invoke the Name of the most High in Swearing ; yet since it is a part of his holy worship, and sometimes put for his whole worship, and therefore proper unto such as are his true Worshippers in Spirit and Truth ; and persons may as well be forced unto any part of the worship of God as unto this, since it ought not to be used but most solemnly, and in most solemn and weighty cases, and (ordinarily) in such as are not otherwise determinable ; since it is the voice of the two great Law-givers from God, Moses and Christ Jesus, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses (not Swearing) every Word shall stand." See " Hirseling Ministry None of Christians ! " An Appendix as touching Oaths. According to his own statement he had, in England, left " great sums" in Chancery, in consequence of his conscientious scruples on this subject. See " George Fox digged out of his Burrowes," Appendix, pp. 59, 60.

While it is quite probable that the opposition of Williams to the Oath of Fidelity had in the eyes of the Magistrates, just at this juncture, a "special political significance," (Palfrey, Hist. N. E., I., 410,) as the language of Cotton implies, yet it is clear that, in the mind of Williams himself, it was connected solely with religious scruples.

These were (as I tooke it) the causes of his Banishment : two other things fell in upon these that hastened the Sentence. The former fell out thus : The Magistrates discerning by the former passages, the heady and turbulent spirit of M^r. *Williams*, both they, and others advised the Church of *Salem* not to call him to office in their Church ; nevertheless, the major part of the Church made choice of him. Soone after, when the Church made suit to the Court for a parcell of Land adjoyning to them, the Court delayed to grant their Request (as hath been mentioned before) because the Church had refused to hearken to the Magistrates, and others in forbearing the choice of M^r. *Williams*. Whereupon M^r. *Williams* took occasion to stirre up the Church to joyne with him in writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof those Magistrates were members, to admonish them of their open transgression of the Rule of Justice. Which Letters coming to the severall Churches, provoked the Magistrates to take the more speedy course with so heady, and violent a Spirit.

But to prevent his sufferings, (if it might be) it was mooved by some of the Elders, that themselves might have liberty (according to the Rule of Christ) to deale with him, and with the Church also in a Church-way. It might be, the Church might heare us, and he the Church ; which being consented to, some of our Churches wrote to the Church of *Salem*, to present before them the offensive [30] Spirit, and way of their Officer, (M^r. *Williams*) both in Judgement, and Practise. The Church finally began to hearken to us, and accordingly began to addresse themselves to the healing of his Spirit. Which he discerning, renounced communion with the Church of *Salem*, pretending they held communion with the Churches in the Bay, and the Churches in the Bay held communion

with the Parish-Churches in *England*, because they suffered their members to heare the word amongst them in *England*, as they came over into their native Countrey. He then refusing to resort to the Publick Assembly of the Church. Soone after sundry began to resort to his Family, where he preached to them on the Lords day. But this carriage of his in renouncing the Church upon such an occasion, and with them all the Churches in the Countrey, and the spreading of his Leaven to sundry that reported to him; this gave the Magistrates the more cause to obserue the heady unruleynesse of his spirit, and the incorrigibleness thereof by any Church-way, all the Churches in the Countrey being then renounced by him. And this was the other occasion which hastened the Sentence of his Banishment, upon the former Grounds.¹³

If upon these Grounds M^r. *Williams* be ready, (as he professeth) *not only to be bound, and banished, but also to dye in*

¹³ Compare the Record of the General Court at Newe Towne, September 2, 1635. Masschufetts Records, vol. 1, p. 160.

"Whereas M^r Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & divulged divers newe & dangerous opinions, against the authortie of magistrates, as also with lites of defamacion, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviction, & yet maintaineth the same without retraccon, it is therefore ordered, that the said M^r Williams shall depeute out of this juridicōn within five weeekes nowe nexte ensuinge, w^{ch} if hee neglect to pform, it shall be lawfull for the Gouvn^r & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this juridicōn, not to returne any more without licence from the Court."

Respecting the date of this important proceeding a singular confusion exists. Governor Winthrop, evidently through oversight, enters it in his History under the date of October. Mr. Knowles, quoting the Colonial Records, gives the date as November 3. In this he is followed by subsequent biographers. But the sentence of banishment was passed September 3, the day after the meeting of the Court. The date is given correctly by Palfrey, Hist. New Eng. vol. 1, p. 412. The error deserves to be noted, since it added an undue harshness to the sentence. Williams however, it will be remembered, afterwards received permission to remain at Salem until spring.

New-England ; let him remember, (what he knowes) *Non p̄na, sed causa facit Martyrem*; No. Martyr of Christ did ever suffer for such a cause.

When he feareth not to professe, that *be did in open Court maintaine the rocky strength of his grounds, to the satisfaction of his own, and (as be saith) of other mens Consciences*.

I can but wonder at the rocky flintiness of his selfe-confidence : To give a taste of the rocky strength of his maintenance of these things ; He made complaint in open Court, that he was wronged by a flanderous report up and downe the Countrey, as if he did hold it to be unlawfull for a Father to call upon his childe to eate his meate. Our reverend Brother M^r. *Hooker*,¹⁴ (the Pastor of the Church, where the Court was then kept) being mooved to speake a word to it, Why, faith he, you will say as much againe, (if you stand to your own Principles) or be forced to say nothing. When M^r. *Williams* was confident he shoule never say it : M^r. *Hooker* replied, If it be unlawfull to call an unregenerate perfon to take an Oath, or to Pray, as being actions of Gods worship, then it is unlawfull [31] for your unregenerate childe, to pray for a blessing upon his own meate. If it be unlawfull for him to pray for a blessing upon his meate, it is unlawfull for him to eate it, (for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified, 1 Tim. 4. 4, 5.) If it be unlawfull for him to eate it, it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to eate it, for it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to finne.

¹⁴ Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at New-Towne, who came to New England in the same ship with Cotton in the year 1633. In June, 1636, he removed to Connecticut. According to Cotton Mather, "He had a singular ability at

giving answers to cases of conscience." When Williams was summoned before the Court for final action, "Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors." Winthrop, 1, 171.

Here M'. *Williams* thought better to hold his peace, then to give an Answer.

But thus have I opened the grounds, and occasions of his Civill Banishment; which whether they be sandy, or rocky, let the servants of Christ judge. Howsoever, my Letter gave him no occasion at all to put me upon this Discourse; for in my Letter I intended only to shew him *the sandinesse of those grounds upon which he banished himselfe from the society (not of the Common-wealth, but) of all the Churches in these Countreys.*

But whether I intended the one, or the other, he giveth an Answer for both; *If M'. Cotton meane (saith he) my own voluntary withdrawing from all these Churches resolved to continue in those evills, and in persecuting the witneses of the Lord, presenting light unto them.* I confess it was mine own voluntary act: yea I hope the act of the Lord Jesus sounding forth in me (a poore despised Rams-borne) the blast which shall in his own holy season cast down the strength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worship of God: and lastly his act in enabling me to be faithfull in any measure to suffer such great, and mightie Tryalls for his Names sake.

Reply, That I meant only his own act in withdrawing himselfe from thes Churches, doth plainly enough appeare both from my exprefse words, and from the Reasons which I exprefly asigne of that act of his, which I called the sandy grounds, upon which he built his Separation. My exprefse words are, *He had banished himselfe from the society of all the Churches in this Country.* The society of the Church is one thing, the society of the Common-wealth, is another. And the Grounds upon which he built his Separation, were not the caufes of his banishment, but of his withdrawing from the society of the Churches.

But if I so meant, *He confesseth it was his own voluntary act; and professeth also, it was a double act of the Lord Jesus in him.*

32] The ground which he giveth of his own voluntary act, was because these Churches were resolved to continue in those evills, and persecuting the witnesses of the Lord Jesus, presenting light to them.

Reply; Those evills? What were those evills, which wee were resolved to continue in? He expresteth none: but sure meet it had been, that as his voluntary withdrawing from these Churches was publickly known; so the evills in which we resolved to continue, and for which he withdrew himselfe, shold in like manner have been publickly knowne also. It is an unrighteous thing to passe publick known acts, upon private unknowne evills. But whatfoever those unknown evills were, I suppose he conceiveth them to be such wayes, either of Judgement, or Practise, wherein wee walke according to the light of our Consciences. And then by his Rule he shold have allowed us the like liberty of conscience, which himselfe requireth. And surely by the Royall Rule of the Lord Jesus, no Brother may be so much as admonished, (much leſſe separated from) till he be convinced, (*τιμῶν αὐτὸν*) Mat. 18. 15.

And as for *persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light to us*; himselfe (for ought I know) was the first in this Countrey, that ever pretended suffering for bearing witnesse in any matter of Religion true or false: And for him to withdraw himselfe from the society of all the Churches for their persecution of him, before he had suffered from them any thing but conference, and conviction, is to make them sufferers for well-doing, and to chooſe suffering, that he might have caufe to complaine of sufferings. Let him, if he be able, name any one in this Countrey of the witnesses of the Lord, (for he speaketh of witnesses) that ever did ſo much as pretend before himselfe to ſuffer Perſecution, for presenting light to us.

Thus he maketh that the ground of his withdrawing, which was not then *in Rerum natura*, (no not in pretence) till after his withdrawing. As a furious School-master will beat a childe for nothing till he cry, and then beat him for crying.¹⁵

But he further presumeth to affirme; *That his withdrawing was the act of the Lord Jesus in him, sounding forth that Blast, which shall one day cast downe the strength, and confidence of the Inventions of men in the worship of God.*

Reply. If a particular visible Church, consisting of visible Saints, and united by holy Covenant into one Congregation, to worship [33] the Lord, and to edifie one another in all his holy Ordinances; If such a Church be an Invention of man; If Elders called, and ordained by them for Administration of these Ordinances, be an invention of man; If the Covenant of Grace between the Lord, and his Church, and the Seales thereof, and the Censures dispensed against the violation thereof; If all these be the Inventions of man, then indeed the Lord hath sounded a blast in M^r. Williams his horne, to cast down the Inventions of men in the worship of God. But if all these be the holy Institutions of the Lord Jesus, then let M^r. Williams know, that this speech of his is a blast of blasphemy against the Lord Jesus, to put upon him that which is the proper worke of Satan, to blast all the Churches, and Ordinances of Christ. And whereas it was wont to be the worke of Antichrist to defile all the Ordinances of Christ, it is now the worke of this examiner to deface, and abolish

¹⁵ The voluntary withdrawing of Williams from the churches, on which Cotton lays so much ire, must have taken place in July or August, 1635, since on July 8, Williams was before the Court, still in full communion, while under date of August, Winthrop writes, "Mr. Williams pastor of Salem, being

fick and not able to speak, wrote to his church a protestation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them, except they would refuse communion with the rest; but the whole church was grieved herewith." Winthrop, 1, 166.

them all from the face of the earth. Whether of these workes are the more Antichristian? It may be he will be ready to say, (as the Prophet said in another case of *Senacherib*, I*sa. 10. 7.*) he meaneth not so, nor doth his heart thinke so: and as *Hazaell* said to the Prophet, *Is thy servant a dog, that be shoud doe this great thing?* (2 King. 8. 13.) *Sed quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* Why doth he separate from all Churches under Heaven, and refuse to gather into any Church where himselfe liveth, if he did not in these times look at all Church-Estate, and Fellowship, and Ordinances, as not to be found in the Land of the Living?

Laftly, *He looketh at it, as an aēt of Christ enabling him to be faithfull in any measure, to suffer such great and mighty Tryalls for his Names sake.*

But if the Spirit of the Apostle *John* had in some measure rested upon him, he would no more have mentioned (much lesse have magnified) his great, and mighty Tryalls, till he had seene *John* goe before him in such a like predication of his sufferings, who doubtlesse had lesse deserved it, and yet suffered more great, and mighty Tryalls, *Revel. 1. 9.* But full vessels make least sound.

Againe, He recocyleth to his civill Banishment, and obserueth, *That if by banishing himselfe I meant his Civill Banishment, then i. He discerneth the language of the Dragon in a Lambes lip; to put the sufferings of the Saints upon themselves, and the Devill.*

34] 2. *That I silenty confess, that the frame and constitution of our Churches is implicitly Nationall. Else if the Commonwealth, and Churcb were not one, how could be that is banished from the one, be necessarily banished from the other also?*

Reply. It was farre from my meaning, and words, when I speake of his banishing of himselfe from the Fellowship of

all the Churches in the Countrey, to intend his civill banishment. I knew his civill banishment was not meerly his own Act. I knew also that he might have been banished from the Commonwealth, and yet have retained (as some others have done) Fellowship with some Churches, if not with all the Churches in the Countrey. And therefore both his observations are but empty flourishes, and vanish like Bubbles. It is the wiliness of the Spirit of the Serpent, to hide his head under fig-leaved evasions.

But suppose I had meant by his banishment of himselfe, his civill banishment, and had meant, that by exposing himselfe deservedly to that censure, he had deprived himselfe of enjoying all the spirituall liberties of the Churches in the Countrey : might I not so have said, and yet not have spoken the language of the Dragon ? What if the Dragon use such language to the Saints suffering innocently ? may not the Spirit of God use the same words to a guilty person suffering deservedly ? The language of the Dragon lyeth not alwayes in the words or meaning, but in the application, and intent of them. The Dragon said to Christ, *I know who thou art, the holy One of God*, Mar. 1. 24. Peter might say the same, or the like words, Mat. 16. 16. And yet in his mouth, it was not the language of the Dragon, but of the Holy Ghost.

Neither will it imply, That the Church, and Commonwealth, are all one, because he that deservedly is banished from the Commonwealth, banisheth himselfe also from the communion of the Churches ; For the same sinnes which may be offensive civilly to the Commonwealth, may be also spiritually offensive to the Church, and both proceed to censure the same person in their own way, severally.

IN his fourth Chapter the Examiner answereth to a speech of mine, wherein to prevent his prejudice against my person, (which might weaken the fruit of my counsell to him) *I told him, I had not hasted forward the sentence of his Civill Banishment: and that what was done by the Magistrates in that kinde, was neither done by my Counsell, nor consent.*

Whereto he answereth, first, *That be observeth, I cannot but confess, that it is hard for any man to doe good, or to speake effectually to the soule, or Conscience of any, whose body be afflicteth, and persecuteth, and that onely for their soule and Conscience sake.*

Reply. All that can truly be obserued from my words is, That it is hard for any to take good from those, against whom they have conceived a prejudice, whether justly, or unjustly. But when he subjoyneth a Serpentine, that is, a subtile, and venomous insinuation, *as if I had afflicted, and persecuted his body, and that onely for his soule, and Conscience sake.*

Answ. I have been so farre from afflicting, or persecuting his body, (especially for his soule, or conscience sake) that in very truth, whilst I had any hope of prevailing for him, I may say, as David said for himselfe, against a like slander, *Psal. 7. 3, 4. I have sought to deliver him who without cause reproacheth me.*

Let not M^r. Williams please himselfe (as he doth in this Paragraph) in comparing the dealing of the Elders with him here, to the Persecutions of the Bishops against the godly Preachers in *England*. If the Bishops had dealt no worse with the godly Preachers there, and upon no more unjust causes, then the Elders dealt with him here, they might with good conscience, and good countenance have looked with

comfort, and confidence, both God, and man in the face, even now when God hath laid their carnall pompe, and worldly honour in the dust.

Neither let him please himselfe (as he doth in the next Paragraph) in his undoubted Assertion ; *That what M^r. Cotton, and others did in procuring his sorrowes, was not without some regret, and reluctancy of Conscience, and affection,* (as David in procuring Uriah's death, or Asa in imprisoning the Prophet.) [36] For neither was he so innocent, as was Uriab, and that Prophet : nor had my selfe the like hand in his sufferings, as David and Asa had in the other : nor did I ever see cause of regret, and reluctancy of conscience, for any act of mine own about his sufferings. Onely I confess I had (as he saith) some regret, and reluctancy of affection, and of compassion, to see one who had received from God, stirring and usefull gifts, to bestirre himselfe so busily, and eagerly to abuse them, to the disturbance of himselfe, his family, the Churches, and the Common-wealth.

That I consented not to his Banishment, he in part admitteth ; *For what need was there (saith he) of that, being not one of the Civill Court ?*

As if I might not have consented to it, though I needed not to have done it. I might have drawn up Articles against him, I might have come in as a witness against him, I might have solicited, and stirred up the body of the Magistrates against him, to rid the countrey of him : and then I had consented before-hand to what was done by the Magistrates in that kinde, though my selfe had been none of the Court ; but none of all these acts, nor any such like were done by me.

But be it that I consented not, yet I counselled it, (and so consented) and to prove that he saith, *He will produce a double, and unanswerable Testimony for it.*

Firſt, That I publickly taught, (and ſtill doe Teach, except lately Chriſt bath taught me better) that body-killing, ſoule-killing, and State-killing Doctrine of Perſecuting all other Conſciences, and wayes of worſhip but mine own, in the Civill State, and conſequently in the whole world, if the Power, or Empire thereof were in mine hand.

Reply. Were it not that I have learned from the word of truth, that when men are cast out of the Church of Christ, they are delivered up unto Satan, and ſo neither their wits, nor their tongues are their own. I could not eaſily have beleaved that M^r. Williams could ſo confidently and openly have avouched ſuch a notorious flander. Since the Lord taught me to know any thing, what conſcience, or the worſhip of God meant, it hath been my conſtant judgement, and doctrine, and praetice to the contrary.¹⁶ Besides, *To teach the killing of the bodies of all ſuch Conſciences, and wayes of worſhip, as are not mine own, is to make mine own conſcience, and way [37] of worſhip, the infallible Rule, and ſoveraigne Standard, by which all conſciences, and wayes of worſhip throughout the world, were to be regulated: yea, and as if this were a light measure of arrogancy, and usurpation, I make it a capitall crime, (a body-killing offence) for any man to ſwerve from my conſcience, and way of worſhip, even in ſuch Points wherein the Holy Ghost hath given exprefſe charge, that we ſhould not judge, nor condemne one another, Rom. 14. 3.* But I durft appeale even unto the conſcience of M^r. Williams himſelfe, (if it were now in the gracious

¹⁶ "Neither is it true, that we ſuffer no man of any different Conſcience or worſhip to live in our Jurisdiction. For not to ſpeak of *Prebyterian*, who doe not only live amongst us, but exercise their publick Miniftry without diſturb-

ance, there be *Anabaptiſt*, and *Antinomians* tolerated to live not only in our Jurisdiction, but even in ſome of our Churches." Cotton's Bloody Tenent Washed, p. 165.

keeping of Christ, or of himselfe, as in former times) that himselfe knoweth, I doe not thinke it lawfull to Excommunicate an Heretick, much lesse to persecute him with the civill Sword, till it may appeare, even by just and full conviction, that he finneth not out of conscience, but against the very light of his own conscience. Sure I am, such a Point he reporteth is received from me, to the very same purpose, (and he reporteth it truly) in his *Bloudy Tenent*, pag. 8. This Answere may suffice to his first (as he calleth it) *unanswerable Testimony*.

His second unanswerable Testimony is, *That some Gentle-men that did consent to his Sentence, have solemnly testified, and with teares since confessed to himselfe, that they could not in their soules have been brought to have consented to the Sentence of his Banishment, had not M^r. Cotton in private given them advice, and counsell, proving it just, and warrantable to their Consciences.*

Reply. I might here justly plead the equitie of the Romane Custome, to excuse my selfe from this accusation, untill the accusers come before me face to face: And truely, if Apocryphall witnesses may goe for unanswerable Testimonies, it is an easie matter to oppresse any innocency: I might also plead the incompetency of such a witnessse, as (haply lying under some censure from our Church, and removing himselfe from our fellowship) might take more liberty to speake against me in a pang of passion, what he would be loath to justifie in cold blood.) I might likewise alledge that one or two Magistrates makes not a Court, nor was his Sentence cast by the vote of one, or two: So that if I had counselled one or two to it, it would not argue that the act of the Magistrates, and of the Deputies, (which is the body of the Court) had been done by my counsell or consent. And indeed it

was the very true [38] meaning of my speech, that for the hastening of the Sentence of the Court against M^r. *Williams*, that act of the Court (which was the act of the body of the Magistrates, and of the Deputies) it was neither done by my counsell, nor consent. For the body of them neither required my counsell, nor received my consent. What one of them did (for I remember but one that consulted with me about it) was not the act done by the Magistrates, whereof I speake. And let the occasion, and scope, and matter of that speech be remembred, and it will be found to tend to that purpose, and no other. About a yeare before the Sentence in Court passed against M^r. *Williams*, the Goverour, and other Magistrates having understood of the disturbances put upon the Civill State by M^r. *Williams*, (which have been declared above) they sent for the Elders of the Churches in these parts, to acquaint us therewith, and to declare thereupon, the just grounds which they had to proceed against him: yet willing to conferre thereof with us, because he was an Elder of a Church. I doe not love to predicate mine own good offices to any: but his importunitie forceth me to utter it; when I heard the motion, I presented (with the consent of my fellow-Elders and Brethren) a serius Request to the Magistrates, that they would be pleased to forbear all civill prosecution against him, till our selves (with our Churches) had dealt with him in a Church way, to convince him of sinne: alledging that my selfe, and brethren hoped, his violent course did rather spring from scruple of conscience, (though carried with an inordinate zeale) then from a seditious Principle. To which the Goverour replied, *That wee were deceived in him, if we thought he would condescend to learne of any of us: And what will you doe (faith he) when you have*

run your course, and found all your labour lost?" I answered for the rest, we hoped better things: if it fell out contrary to our hopes, we could not helpe it, but must sit downe, and quiet our conscience in the Lords acceptance of our will, and endeavour for the deed.¹⁸

This interceding of my selfe, and other Elders in his behalfe, gave me just occasion of that profession above-mentioned, *That I had sought to deliver him, who without cause reproached mee.*

The issue was when the Church of *New-Towne*, with our owne, and others had endeavoured to convince both M. Williams of these offences, and the Church of *Salem* of their indulgent toleration [39] of him therein; it pleased the Lord to open the hearts of the Church to assist us in dealing with him: but he in stead of hearkening, either to them, or us, renounced us all, as no Churches of Christ: and therefore not at all to be hearkened unto.

¹⁷ The Goverour, whose words are here quoted, was Thomas Dudley, who had been elected successor of Winthrop, by the Court which met in May, 1634, partly in consequence of an injudicious sermon which Cotton himself preached, in which he laid down the direction "that a Magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convicted, no more than the Magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold, etc., without like public trial etc." Winthrop, 1, 132. Dudley died July 31, 1653, and in his pocket were found some lines of his own composing, of which the following are a characteristic specimen:

Let men say God in sorrows and sorrows watch
For me to do what I can, though
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To pollute all with hornes and vine.

See the account of Thomas Dudley in Mather's *Magnalia*.

¹⁸ The statement which Cotton here makes respecting his personal attitude towards Williams is confirmed by the account of Winthrop, who says that both Cotton and Wilson interceded with the Court to stay the proceedings against Williams when he was first called to answer for his denunciation of the Patent. See Winthrop, 1, 123. The words "About a year before the Sentence," would seem to imply that Cotton interceded in behalf of Williams for the second time. Besides this intercession with the Court, Cotton, according to his own account, "spent a great part of the Summer in fecking by word and writing" to satisfy the scruples of Williams. See p. 47.

Whereupon the Magistrates being to assemble to the next Generall Court at *New-Towne*, intending (as appeared by the event) to proceed against him: And one of the Magistrates of our Towne being to goe thither, acquainted me that it was likely M^r. Williams his cause would then be issued, and asked me what I thought of it. *Truely (said I,) I pitie the man, and have already interceded for him, whilest there was any hope of doing good. But now he having refused to beare both his own Church, and us, and having rejected us all, as no Churches of Christ before any conviction, we have now no more to say in his behalfe, nor hope to prevail for him.*¹⁹ *Wee have told the Governor, and Magistrates before, that if our labour was in vain, wee could not helpe it, but must sit downe. And you know they are generally so much incensed against his course, that it is not your voyce, nor the voyces of two, or three more, that can suspend the Sentence. Some further speech I had with him of mine own marvell at the weaknesse, and flendernesse of the grounds of his opinions, motions, and courses, and yet carried on with such vehemency, and impetuosity, and preſidence of Spirit.*

¹⁹ The language here used implies that Williams, "before any conviction," had renounced communion, not only with the Churches in the Bay, but with "his own Church" at Salem. The same impression is made in the enumeration, on a former page, of the "two other things that hastened the Sentence." p. 30. See also Preface, p. 6. But according to Winthrop, Williams did not separate from his own church until after sentence had been passed. "So, the next morning, the court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence; and his own church had him under question also for the same cause; and he, at his return home, refused com-

munion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them, etc." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 171. The discrepancy between the two accounts may be reconciled by the obvious explanation that Cotton had in mind the fact which Winthrop states, that Williams, before sentence was passed, "wrote to his church a protestation, that he could not communicate with the churches in the bay; neither would he communicate with them except they would refuse communion with the rest." Volume 1, page 166.

To this purpose was my speech to him, nor can I call to minde that I speake so much as this to any man else ; nor can I remember at all, that further then so, I gave him any grounds to prove the sentencing of him to Banishment, to be just and warrantable to his Conscience. Nor would it infringe the truth of my speech if I had so done, seeing it is not one mans vote (nor two, if there had been two) that denominateth the sentence of the Court, or the act to be done by the Magistrates, much lesse done by the Magistrates with my counsell, and consent : but though I looked at the Sentence of the Court, as neither hastened nor done by my counsell, and consent, yet I did never intend to say, that I did not consent to the justice of the Sentence when it was past. Not that I withdrew my selfe out of the Court (as he is pleased to construe it) *out of some reluctation; or that I meant it, I neither counselled nor consented in the very time of the sentence passing:* but that I did not before-hand either give counsell, or consent to the body of the Magistrates, or Deputies, to passe that Sentence against him.

I see I have been so large in answering the former foure Chapters of this Examination of my Letter, that if I should proceed in the like sort in a particular search of the other twenty-foure Chapters which remaine, I should take up more time then were meet about the personall concernments of him, or my selfe. Who are wee, that we should publickly invite the servants of Christ (who are employed in more weighty affaires of their Lord and ours) to attend unto personall Transactions between him, and me ? Where any thing

shall occurre tending to more publick edification, I shall infist with more attention thereupon, and passe over other lighter Discourses, with a lighter touch. Yet who so can spare so much time, and leisure, as to compare each Chapter of his, with each Chapter of this Discourse, he shal finde (if I be not mistaken) no passage of weight passed over without returning due Answere to each particular. That Text in *Prov. 11. 26.* (*He that withholdeth the Corne, (which is the staffe of life) from the people, the multitude shall curse him:*) *I alledged to prove that the people had much more cause to separate such from amongst them, (whether by Civill, or Churche-Censure, as doe withhold, or separate them from the Ordinances, or the Ordinances from them, which are (in Christ) the bread of life.* Let not the Reader be so farre mis-led by the Examiner his mis-information, as to thinke, that this Scripture was produced against him, to justifie either a false Ministry, or an unfit people to choose and enjoy a true Ministry. The Ministry, and people, are the Ministry and people of this Countrey: of which, the people he acknowledgeth to be Saints: and the Ministers of the Churches (chosen by them) not to be destitute of such qualifications, as Christ requireth, save onely that we doe not forbid the people when they goe over into *England*, to heare the word of God preached by godly Ministers in the Parish Churches. Now for this caufe, because we doe not separate these *Englysh* hearers from us, he separated himselfe, and withdrew others from hearing the word in our Churches with us: which I accounted as great, and as unsufferable an injury to the soules of Gods people, as it would be to their bodies to withhold the Corne from them, or them from the Corne: and for that end I produced this Scripture.

41] That I produced this Scripture alone to justifie the Sentence of the Court, it was not for want of others, (if that

had been the Question;) but because the scope of my Letter was, not to confirme the equitie of his Banishment, but to convince the iniquitie of his Separation. The mention of the caufe of his civill Banishment fell in onely upon the by, to remove an objection out of the way, that because I denied the act of the Court to be done by my counfell, or consent, therefore it might seeme I disallowed the sentence. To prevent that mistake I acknowledged the righteousnesse of the Sentence, and for that end I produced that Scripture, as that which might give both fome just reason before God of his Civill Banishment: and also make way for the discovery of his sinne of groundlesse Separation. Let no man be so farre mistaken, as to thinke, that his Separation from the Churches, was either the chiefe difference between the Court and him, (though it was the chiefe between him and me in my Letter;) or that it was the chiefest offence for which he suffered, though he so pretended.

What though neither corporall nor spirituall food may lawfully be sold or bought, but with the good will, and consent, and authoritie of the owner? &c.

Let him make it appeare, that Christ hath not committed the Ministry of the Gofpel to us; and wee shall give place to others whom Christ shall send: Meane while, if the budding, and blossoming, and fruit-bearing of *Aarons* rod was a witnesse from Heaven, that the Lord approved his Ministry against all the murmurings of the Children of *Israel*, Num. 17. 5. to 8. We must leave him, and others to their murmurings against us, and quiet our consciences in an humble blessing of the Lord for his gracious blessing upon our weake labours in that holy Ministry wee have received from him.

What though the Apostles were to turne away, and to shake off the dust of their feete, against scorers, contradicitors, despisers, persecutors?

It was not till they had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and scorned, and persecuted the convincing light of the Gospel, *Act 13. 45. to 51.*

Otherwise the Jewes were scorners, and perfecutors of Christ himselfe, and of all that confessed his Name, *Job. 9. 22.* yet still the Apostles ceased not to Preach to them, and pray with them, [42] *Act 3. 1. &c.* to wit, whilst their Perfecutors sinned of ignorance, *ver. 17.*

What though the Apostles were forbidden to preach to some places?

He wisely quoteth no Text for it, lest the quoting might be the confuting of himselfe. He knoweth, it was but for a time that others (according to the good pleasure of Christ's will) might be served before them.

What if M^r. Cotton saw just cause to refuse to sell spirituall Corne in a mis-hallowed Surplice? Is it safe therefore for M^r. Williams to shut up his sacks mouth, and to refuse to sell corne in his ordinary apparrell?

What if M^r. Cotton forbearre to administer the Lords Supper to all believers, or Baptisme unto their children, untill the believers professe their Faith, and Repentance before the Church? Is it safe therefore for M^r. Williams to refuse to Breake the Bread of Life unto the Church of Salem, whereunto their Election, and Ordination of him, and his own voluntary acceptance thereof, had engaged him unto stwardly office?

What though in all Civill Transactions, and in all the present disturbances of England, principall respect is had unto a right Commission, and right Order? Let him shew wherein our Commission, or Order is defective, and reason would we should hearken to him.

But see the warineffe, and flinenesse of the Examiner: *I judge it not (faith he) seasonable here, to entertaine the Dispute of the true Power, and call of Chriſt Miniftry.* An handsome



evasion. Now when the grounds of his Separation are questioned, now when he standeth upon his open justification, now in Print before the eyes of all men, now he thinketh it not seafonable, to entertaine any dispute of such things at all. Thus *Fælix* would heare *Paul* when he had a more convenient time: and yet that was the very time and houre of his visitation, *Act*s 24. 25.

His evasion of this Text in *Prov.* 11. 26. (by comparing it with *Deut.* 17. 12.) doth but adde a delusion to an evasion. [*Deut.* 17. I suppose he meaneth, though his printed copie lay *Deut.* 15.]^o For it is a delusion to make the capitall punishment prescribed against the presumptuous rejection of the Sentence of the chiefest Court in *Israël*, a figure of Excommunication in the Church of Christ.

43] For first, no Scripture of old or new Testament giveth any intimation of any such figure in this Law. And to make a judicall Law a figure without some light from some Scripture, is to make a mans selfe, wife above that which is written.

2. That law is of morall equitie, that is of universall and perpetuall equitie, in all Nations, in all Ages: He that shall presumtuously appealre from, or rise up against the sentence of the chiefest and highest Court in a free State, is guilty *Læſæ majestatis publicæ*, and therfore as a capitall offender to be censured in any free Common-wealth.

3. This Law in *Deut.* 17. provided an effectuall punishment against such presumptuous offenders, and an effectuall remedy against all such like presumption in others, that *all Israël might bear, and feare, and doe no more presumtuously,*

^o *Deut.* 17: 12, reads, "And the man that will do presumtuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israël." A comparison with Chap. 15, will shew the propriety of Cotton's correction.

ver. 13. But so doth not Excommunication. For what if an Excommunicate person presume against the sentence of Christ in his Church, (as M^r. Williams doth against the Sentence of the Church of Salem?) doth the power of the Church provide, that all the *Israel* of God may heare, and feare, and doe no more presumptuously? Is the figure become more powerfull, and effectuall, then the substance? the shadow, then the body? the type, then the Antitype?

From this mistaken Figure, the Examiner would inferre, *The withholding of the Corne presumptuously to be death in Israel: but not so in every State of the world: much lesse the pleading against a false Ministry to be a capitall crime: for as for Banishment never such a course was heard of in Israel.*

Answer. That law in *Deut.* hath nothing to doe with the withholding of Corne presumptuously, unleesse there had first passed some sentence of the Soveraigne Court against the withholding of Corne. But otherwise ordinary finnes of presumption, doe fall under the Judicature of another Law, *Num. 15. 30; 31.*

Neither hath this Text in *Solomons Proverbs* any thing to doe with that Law in *Deut. 17.* nor with capitall punishment. *Solomon* doth not say, that every man that withholdeth his corne, shall be put to death in *Israel:* nor doe I say that he is to be put to death in any State of the world: least of all doe I say that Pleading against a false Ministry is a capitall crime: These are all but excursions, and evaporations of the superfluity of wit. But this I say, (and not [44] I but *Solomon*) *He that withholdeth the Corne, the people shall curse him,* *Prov. 11. 26.* And cursing implyeth Separation. He therefore that shall withdraw, or separate, the Corne from the people, or the people from the Corne; the people have just cause to separate either him from themselves, or them-

selves from him. And this proportion will hold as well in spirituall Corne as bodily: the Argument still standeth unshaken.

What though we never read of Banishment in *Israel*? we read of something proportionable: what else meaneth that Decree? *Let Judgement be executed to death, or to Banishment*, Ezra. 7. 27. And Ezra. 10. 8? *Let all his substance be forfeited, and himselfe separated from the Congregation of those that had been carried away.* And in *Moses*, frequent mention is made of, *Cutting off from the people*; which though in *Israel*, it may sometime signifie, cutting off by Gods hand, sometime by the sword of the Magistrate, and sometime cutting off from the fellowship of Gods House: yet in *Abraham's Family*, The cutting off (in Gen. 17. 14.) may very well reach, cutting off from their civill Cohabitation: as for a like offence *Ibmael*, and his mother were cut off from cohabitation in the Tents of *Abraham's* people, Gen. 21. 9. to 14.

Also he that had unawares slaine a man, was banished, though not out of all *Israel*, yet from his own House, and Towne, and Tribe, till the death of the High Priest, and that was as much as Banishment out of any Society of Christs people now, whether in Church, or Civill Fellowship. For though out of *Israel*, there was no full Banishment legally enjoyned, because there was then no other Church extant in the world, (and so to banish a man out of *Israel*, was as much as to say, Goe, and serve other Gods, 1 Sam. 26. 19) yet now when Church-fellowship in the true Religion may be had in so many places, to banish a man out of his Countrey, is no more then it was then to banish an *Israelite* into a Citie of Refuge. But though banishment be now a lawfull punishment in some case, yet I goe not about to prove that every wilfull withholding of corne, in every State is banishment,

much leffe death. But he that shall withhold his own corne, and goe about to perfwade all others that have corne lying by them, to shut up their facks mouths, and not to bring forth their corne for the nourifhment of the people, (which is, if we speake of spirituall corne, the very case of the 45] Examiner) I doe not fee but such an one may be justly accounted as *Hofis Republicæ*, a publick enemy of the Country, and, as such an one, in due order, to be cast out of it.

In due order I say; for if such an one be detained from bringing forth his corne by some scruple of Conscience, (as suppose a man able to Preach Christ, and so able to difpenſe spirituall corne, yet doubting of the true way of the Ministryſt since the Apostacie of Antichrist, dare not practise the Ministryſt.) Such an one ſhould not be ſodainly cast out of the Country, till he be first convinced, that the Apostacie of Antichrist, did never ſo farre prevale againſt the Church of Christ, as to roote it out from off the face of the earth. The woman (which is the Church of Christ) was ſtill nouriſhed in a Wildernesſe, even during all the Reigne of Antichrist, *Rev. 12. 14, 15, 16.* The Temple of God, (which is his Church) together with the Altar, and them that worship therein, were ſtill measured, and that by *John* (by Apostolick measure) all the time, when Antichrist trod downe the outward Court of the holy City, *Rev. 11. 1, 2.* The Golden vefſels of the Temple ſtill continued in the middeft of the Babylonish Captivitie. And if spirituall Babylon have now ſo farre prevailed againſt the Church of Christ, as that they have rooted it up from the face of the earth, then what is become of the promise of Christ; *The gates of Hell ſhall never prevale againſt it?* *Mat. 16. 18.* Surely the Promise is given to a particular Congregationall Church, that it ſhall never faile, but ſhall alwayes be extant in ſome Country, or

other; for he speaks of such a Church, to whom the keyes of the Kingdome are committed, ver. 19. It will be vaine to look for new Apostles to replant Churches out of the ruines of the Antichristian Apoftasie. For the new Testa-ment acknowledgeth *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be the last Apostles, 1 Cor. 4. 9. If any Apostles rise up after them, then *Paul* and *Barnabas* will not be the last. And when the New *Hierusalem* comes downe from Heaven, yet shee shall not be builded by any new Apostles, but built upon that foundation which the Lambes twelve Apostles have already laid, Rev. 21. 14.²¹

²¹ In the foregoing paragraph Cotton had in mind some particular passages in the life of Williams, already alluded to on page 11, which are thus described by Winthrop, under date of July, 1639. "At Providence matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company, a few months since, were in all haile rebaptized, and denied communion with all others, and now he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles, otherwile than by the ministers of England, (whom he judged to be ill authority,) so as he conceived God would raise up some apostolic power. Therefore he bent himself that way, expecting (as was supposed) to become an apostle; and having a little before refuled communion with all, save his own wife, now he would preach and pray with all comers." Winthrop, vol. 1, 307.

These peculiar opinions which led Williams to renounce the Church at Providence only a few months after he had joined it, he continued to cherish during the remainder of his life. In his "Hireling Ministry None of Christs,"

published in 1652, he says: "In the poor small span of my life, I defred to have been a diligent and constent observer, and have been myself many ways engaged, in city, in country, in court, in schools, in universities, in churches, in Old and New England, and yet cannot, in the holy presence of God, bring in the result of a satisfying discouery, that either the begetting minitry of the apostles or messengers to the nations, or the feeding and nourishing minitry of paftors and teachers, according to the firſt institution of the Lord Jesuſ, are yet restored and extant." *Hireling Ministry*, p. 4.

The opinions of Williams respecting the minitry seem to have been almost identical with thoſe of his illustrious friend, Sir Henry Vane, and they certainly reſemble the views entertained, in our own times, by the disciples of Edward Irving. The connection of Williams with the Baptists was accidental and temporary. He did not join them until nearly two years had elaped from the settlement of Providence, and remained connected with them only three or four months. See Letter of Richard Scot, in "New-Eng-

As for those many excellent, and worthy Gentlemen, Lawyers, Physicians, and others, whom the Examiner commendeth to be as well gifted in the knowledge of the Scripture, and furnished with gifts, of tongues, and utterance, as most that professe the Ministry, and yet are not persuaded [46] to sell spirituall Corne, as questioning their true calling, and Commission.

In such a cafe I would first seeke (by the helpe of Christ) to remove the scruples upon which they question their calling, and Commission.

Secondly, I would thinke it meet, to put a difference between such as never received a lawfull calling and commission to the Ministry, and them that have received it. But if any of them have received a lawfull calling into the Ministry, and yet will neither Preach themselves, nor suffer them that would, I suppose that both Church, and Common-wealth, may justly account them unworthy of any Christian society; and as such unprofitable servants refuse to minister themselves, or to suffer others to minister spirituall things; so others should refuse to minister to them carnall things.

But (faith he) the selling, or withholding of spirituall Corne, are both of a spirituall nature: and therefore must necessarily in a true Paralell beare Relation to a spirituall Curse.

land Fire-Brand Quenched," page 247. What Toland says of Milton is equally true of Williams: "In his middle years he was best pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptists*, as allowing of more Liberty than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice. But in the latter part of his Life he was not a professed Member of any particular Sect among Christians, he frequented none of their Assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar Rites in his

Family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless Disputes, and that Love of Dominion, or Inclination to Persecution, which, he said, was a piece of Popery inseperable from all Churches; or whether he thought one might be a good Man, without subscribing to any Party; and that they had all in som things corrupted the Institutions of JESUS CHRIST, I will by no means adventure to determine." See Life of John Milton, Lond. 1699, p. 151.

Answ. If they that minister spirituall good things may duely reape carnall good things, (1 Cor. 9. 11.) then they that hinder the ministring of spirituall good things, may justly reape the hinderance of enjoyment of carnall good things. What if spirituall, and carnall good things be not paralell? Are there no Arguments but *a Pari?* Is it not lawfull reasoning *a majori ad minus?* If men hinder the enjoyment of spirituall good things, may they not be hindred from the enjoyment of that which is leffe, carnall good things? It would weary a sober minde to pursue such windy fancies: though I hope the Lord will helpe me not to count it wearisome, either to satisfie a tender Conscience, or to convince a Gainfayer.

To CHAP. VI.

THough my Letter exprefseth, *That it may be the Court passed that sentence againſt M^r. Williams, not upon that ground, (from Prov. 11. 26.) but for ought I know, for his other corrupt Doctrines (ſuitable to his Practices) tending to the disturbance of Civill, and holy Peace:* Yet I doe not therefore question (as he ſaith I ſeeme to [47] doe) *the ſandineſſe of ſuch a ground (as that place of Scripture) to warrant ſuch proceedings; nor doe I therin confeſſe that my ſelfe had no diſtinct knowledge of the cauſes of his Banishment.*

For I did not alledge that place of Scripture, as a ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Banishment: and therefore I ſaid in my Letter, it may be they paſſed Sentence not upon that ground. But I alledged it as a reaſon, which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed againſt M^r. Williams, for ſuch other offensive, and diſturbant Doc-

trines, and Practises against the Patent, and against the oath of fidelitie, and against the Magistrates delay of the Petition of *Salem*, which he himselfe knoweth, I had distinct knowledge of before, which maketh me the more to marvell at his wonder, *Where was my waking care in bis behalfe?*; Whereas he knoweth I spent a great part of the Summer in seeking by word and writing to satisfie his scruples in the former particulars: untill he rejected both our callings, and our Churches. And even then I ceased not to follow him still, with such meanes of conviction, and satisfaction in that Point also, as God brought to my hand: whereof this very Letter, (which he examineth, and answreth) is a pregnant, and evident demonstration.

What though in this Letter I did not name his other corrupt Doctrines and Practises, nor any Scriptures to prove them corrupt? His heart knoweth full well both the Points, and the Scriptures, that were charged upon him all that Summer. And to have rehearsed them againe in this Letter, it had been but *actum agere*, neither was it the worke in hand. For having done it before, wee looked for some satisfactory

"The statement which Cotton here makes, that the separation of Williams from the Churches, or in other words, his "withholding of spirituall Corne," though not itself the "ground upon which the Court proceeded to his Banishment," was yet "a reason which provoked the Lord to moove the Court to proceed against M^r. Williams for "other offensive, and disturbant Doctrines, and Practises," agrees with the statement before made that while the "causes of his Banishment" were his opposition to the Patent, and to the Oath of Fidelity, yet "two other things fell in upon these that hastened the Sentence." See p. 29.

According to the account given by Williams, (*Mr. COTTONS Letter examined and answere*, p. 7,) the verse Proverbs 11: 26, of which so much use is here made, was connected with a dispute between himself and Cotton "concerning the true Ministry appointed by the Lord Jesu." Without doubt this dispute was a part of the discussion during "a greater part of the Summer," to which Cotton refers above. But Williams confounded what was a "chief difference" between himself and Cotton, with that for which he "chiefly suffered" at the hands of the civil authority. Compare Preface, p. 8.

answer: but in stead thereof wee received onely a rejection of our callings, and Churches: so that there was nothing now left, but to endeavour to satisfie his Conscience in the fandiness of those grounds, upon which he rejected communion with us.

TO C H A P. VII.

IN the 7th Chapter M^r. *Williams* examineth those words of my Letter, wherein I say, that *were my soule in his soules stead, I shoud accept it as a mercy of God, to banishe me from the Civill Society of such a Common-wealth, where I could not enjoy holy Fellowship with any Church of God amongst them without sinne. For what shoud the daughter of [48] Zion doe in Babel? Why shoud shee not hasten to flee from thence?*

To this the Examiner answereth, that though his love bids him to hope, that M^r. Cotton herein intended him a Cordiall, yet if the Ingredients be examined, there will appeare no leſſe then dishonour to the Name of God, danger to every Civill State, a miserable comfort to him, and a contradiction within it ſelfe.

Reply. It is true, what I wrote was in love to his soule: but I intended not a cordiall of conſolation to him, (for I did not conceive his Spirit at the preſent prepared for it;) but I intended onely a conviction, to abate the rigour of his indignation againſt diſpenſation of divine Justice: And therefore preſented before him the mercy of God in that Adminiſtration.

But he beginneth with the laſt, firſt, to ſhew me the evill of theſe Ingredients.

And first for the contradiction to my selfe, in *that I speake of the daughter of Zion in Babel: If be call (faith he) the Land Babel, how can it be Babel, and the Church of Christ also?*

As if Zion cannot be in *Babel*, but it must be *Babel*? or as if the Church cannot be in the world, but it must be the world? Or as if when I call the Land *Babel*, I speake of it as it is in it selfe, and not rather as it is in his apprehension? the Churches (in his imagination) still holding communion with Antichristian *Babylon*.

Secondly, He maketh it a dangerous Doctrine to affirme it, *a misery to live in that State where a Christian cannot enjoy the fellowship of the publick Churches of God without sinne.*

Reply. 1. Though I doe affirme it to be a mercy to be delivered out of such a State, yet I doe not affirme it to be a misery to live in it. It is a mercy to be translated, not onely from misery to happiness, but from a lesse good to a greater. It is a mercy to a faithfull soule to be translated from a Saint to a Minister; and yet Saintship is no misery.

2. It is some degree of misery, and no small one to a spirituall mind, for a Christian to live where he cannot enjoy the fellowship of Churches; or else David complained without cause; *Woe is me, that I am constrained to dwell in Mefbek, Psal. 120. 5. & 42. 4.*

What if there be many famous States, wherein no Church of Jesus Christ is knowne? Is it not a mercy to be dimissed from such a State to a Land of more liberty, and piety?

49] *What if God commanded his people to Pray for the Peace of materiall Babel, whilest they were forced to abide in it?*

Was it not therefore a mercy from God, for Cyrus to deliver them out of *Babel*?

What if Sodom, Egypt, Babel, be spiritually understood, Rev. 11. 8. & 14. 8.

Is it not therefore a mercy when God calleth his People out of such Dungeons, and sinkes of abomination?

What if there were a true Church in materiall Babel? 1 Pet. 5. 13.

Let him remember what he spake a little before; *That if I speake not of Babel mystically, I speake not to the Point: Let him apply it to himselfe.*

Wherefore doth he tell us againe of *bis being driven into the miseries of an howling Wilderneſſe?*

1. It was no howling Wilderneſſe when he came to it, as hath been said above.

2. He might have gone to other English Plantations Eastward, *Pascatoꝝ;*, and *Agaminticus*.

3. Solomon telleth us, *It is better to live in a Wilderneſſe, then with a contentious, and angry woman,* Prov. 21. 19. And such he accounteth all our Churches, and Courts to be.

Thirdly, faith he, *M^t. Cotton binſelfe would have counted it a mercy, if he might have Practised in Old-England, what he doth in New-England, with the enjoyment of Civill Peace, &c.*

Reply. True; but what is that to the purpose? The Question is if I could not enjoy the Fellowship of publick Churches without finne, (as in those dayes I could not) whether then I would account it a mercy to be remov'd? Verily, I doe so account it, and blesse the Lord from my foule for his abundant mercy in forcing me out thence, in fo fit a seaon.

But further, (faith he) what if M^t. Cotton ſhould diſſent from the new English Churches, and joyne in worſhip with ſome other, (as ſome few yeares ſince, he was upon the Point to doe, in a ſeparation from the Churches there, as Legall) would be count it a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, him, and his, and to endure the loſſes, diſtractions, miseries, that doe attend ſuch a condition?

Reply. The Examiner is fally, and foully mis-informed, when he faith, *I was about to separate some few yeares since from the new English [so] Churches as Legall.* For I never counted them as Legall Churches; nor was I ever about to separate from them as Legall, or otherwise so uncleane, that a good conscience might not hold communion with them without sinne.

The truth is, There was a Generation of Familists in our own, and other Townes, who under pretence of holding forth, what I had taught, touching union with Christ, and evidencing of that union, did secretly vent fundry corrupt, and dangerous errors, and heresies, denying all inherent righteousness, and all evidencing of a good estate thereby in any sort, and some of them denying also the Immortalitie of the soule, and Resurrection of the body." When they were questioned,

"The first mention by Winthrop of the gifted and unfortunate Anne Hutchinson is as follows: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches; as, 1. Our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself." Winthrop, 1, 200.

According to her own statement, made to the General Court, Mrs. Hutchinson had come to New England for the express reason that she might continue to enjoy the spiritual ministrations of Cotton, who had been her near neighbor in Lincolnshire. See "A Short Story of the Rife, reigne, and ruine of the Antime-

mants, Familists & Libertines," p. 38.

The expression which Cotton uses to describe the Antinomians, "a Generation of Familists," hardly conveys an adequate notion of their importance. Says Thomas Welde, who has never been accused of pretending them in too favorable a light: "And that which added rigour and boldnes to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts, and quality, in all places to defend and Patronise them; Some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, and men of learning, some Burghesses of our Generall Court, some of our Captains and Soldiers, some chiefe men in Townes, and some men eminent for Religion, parts and wit. So in Towne-meetings, Military-trainings, and all other Societies, yea almost in every family, it was hard if some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their owne eye." See "Short Story, &c.," Preface.

by some Brethren about those things, they carried it as if they held forth nothing but what they had received from me." Whereof when I was advertised, to cleare my selfe, I publickly Preached against these errors. Then said the Brethren to the erring party, See, your Teacher declares himselfe clearly to differ from you. No matter (say the other) what he saith in publick, we understand him otherwise, and we know what he saith to us in private. Yea and I my selfe could not easily beleeve that those erring Brethren, and Sisters were so corrupt in their Judgements, as they were reported, they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying unto me any such Tenents, or any thing else but what they received from my selfe. All which bred in sundry of the Countrey a jealousie that I was in secret a Fomenter of the Spirit of Familisme, if not leavened my selfe that

* That it was not alone the belief of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends that Cotton agreed with their opinions appears from the following account by Thomas Shepard. Describing his settlement at Cambridge, he says: "No sooner were we thus set down and entered into church fellowship, but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of Familists; begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen Governor, and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boston, and some in other churches." And after speaking of the "monstrous opinion," gendered in the country, he adds: "Which the elders perceiving, having used all private brotherly means with Mr. Cotton first, and yet no healing, hereupon, they publicly preached both against opinions publicly and privately maintained." See "Thomas Shepard's Memoir of his own Life," in Young's *Chronicles of Mass.*, pp. 546-47. This last statement gives color to the assertion of the Antinomians that Cotton said to them in private what he did not say in public. On this point compare further the statement of Winthrop, (vol. i, p. 202,) that, the Boston church having under confederation the question of calling Mr. Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, to be teacher, when it was objected that he held to her opinions, "Hereupon the governour (Vane) spake, that he marvelled at this, seeing Mr. Cotton had lately approved his doctrine." Winthrop further states, that Cotton agreed with Vane in holding that the Holy Ghost dwelt personally in the believer, and that when a question arose in the church "about sanctification," Vane and Cotton took the same view. pp. 206, 210.

way."⁵ Which I discerning, it wrought in me thoughts, (as it did in many other sincerely godly Brethren of our Church) not of a Separation from the Churches, as Legall, (whom we truely embraced, and honoured in the Lord) but of a Remooval to *New Haven*, as being better knowne to the Pastor,⁶ and some others there, then to such as were at that time jealous of me here. The true Ground whereof was, an inward loathnesse to be troublesome to godly mindes, and a feare of the unprofitableness of my Ministery there, where my way was suspected to be doubtfull, and dangerous. I chose therefore rather to meditate a silent departure in Peace, then by tarrying here to make way for the breaking forth of

⁵ That Winthrop himself shamed, in some degree, this "jealousie," seems likely from the letter he wrote to Cotton, (Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 211,) and the wide extent to which it was diffused among the clergy appears from various passages; as for example, the statement p. 212, that "About this time the rest of the ministers, taking offence at some doctrines delivered by Mr. Cotton, and especially at some opinions, which some of his church did broach, and for he seemed to have too good an opinion of, and too much familiarity with those persons, drew out fifteen points, and gave them to him, entreating him to deliver his judgment directly in them, which accordingly he did, and many copies thereof were dispersed about. Some doubt he well cleared, but in some things he gave not satisfaction." Winthrop, 1, 212. Again p. 213, Winthrop speaks of "Mr. Cotton's party," and p. 218, referring to the fact that Vane, Cotton and Wheelwright did not attend an ordination at Concord, adds, "The reason was conceived to be,

because they accounted them as legal preachers, and therefore would not give approbation to their ordination."

⁶ The Rev. John Davenport, who was born in 1597, and educated first in Merton College, then in Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He afterwards preached in London. Driven by the arbitrary proceedings of Laud to Holland, he came to New England in 1637, in compliance with the earnest request of Cotton, and in 1638, with Theophilus Eaton, founded the colony of New Haven. Between him and Cotton the warmest friendship exisled, and on the death of Cotton, Davenport was invited to become his successor. He died in Boston, 1670, and was buried in the same tomb with his friend, near that of Governor Winthrop, in the northern corner of King's Chapel Grave-yard. As the colony of New Haven was not founded until some time after the meeting of the Synod at New-Towne, it is evident that the qualified assent yielded by Cotton to its decisions was still far from removing the suspicions felt respecting him.

Temptations. But when at the Synod⁷⁷ I had discovered the corruption of the Judgement of the erring Brethren, and saw their fraudulent pretence of [51] holding forth no other, but what they received from me, (when as indeed they pleaded for grosse errors, contrary to my judgement;) and thereupon bare witness against them; and when in a pri-

⁷⁷ Held at New Towne, August 30, 1637, at which eighty-two erroneous opinions, "found to have been brought into New-England, and spread underhand there," were condemned. These opinions are enumerated in the "Short Story," before quoted. One of the moderators of the Synod was Bulkeley, of Concord, in whose ordination Cotton had refused to take part, on the ground that he was a "legal preacher."

One result of the Antinomian controversy was an Order of the Court to the effect, "that none should be received to inhabit within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates." This order gave great offence, and Winthrop prepared and published an elaborate vindication of it. From this "Defence" the following extract is quoted from its direct bearing upon a question previously discussed in these notes. Referring to the case of Wheelwright, Winthrop says: "If we conceive and find by fadd experience that his opinions are such, as by his own profession cannot stand with external peace, may we not provide for our peace, by keeping off such as would strengthen him, and infect others with such dangerous tenents? and if we finde his opinions such as will caute divisons, and make people look at their magistrates, ministers and brethren as enemies to Christ; and Antichrist, &c were it not

finne and unsaithfullnes in us, to revive more of those opinions, which we already finde the evill fruit of; Nay, why doe not thofe who now complayne joyne with us in keeping out of such, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams for the like, though leſſe dangerous?" Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 1630-49, p. 186. Vane replied to Winthrop's "Defence." See Upham's Life of Vane, in Sparks' Amer. Biogrp., p. 152.

It is a remarkable fact that while this controversy respecting religious toleration was at its height, Roger Williams, writing from Providence, to his friend Governor Winthrop, about certain "subscriptions" which "he had thoughts of propounding" as a basis of government for the new settlement, which as yet had no legal existence, makes no reference whatever to that distinctive principle, which, according to the commonly received opinion, was uppermost in his thoughts at this time. The significant limitation "only in civil things," which forms a part of the subscription as it was finally entered upon the Records of the town, does not appear in the original draught which Williams submitted to Winthrop. See Letter of Roger Williams to John Winthrop, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Fourth Series, vol. 6, page 186. Compare with Staples, Annals of Providence, p. 39.

vate conference with some chiefe Magistrates, and Elders, I perceived that my purpose of removall upon such differences was unwelcome to them, and that such Points needed not to occasion any distiance (neither in place, nor in heart) amongst Brethren, I then rested satisfied in my abode amongst them, and so have continued by the Grace of Christ unto this day.^a

But now to returne to Mr. Williams his Question ; *In the time of this Difference, would I count it (faith he) a mercy to be pluckt up by the rootes, me, and mine, and to endure the losse, distractiōns, and miseries, that doe attend such a condition?*

^a Cotton retained his position as Teacher of the Boston church until his death, which took place on Thursday, Dec. 23, 1652, between the hours of eleven and twelve, after the bell had called to the usual Lecture. "Upon the 29th he was interred in a brick tomb in the old burying ground, (adjoining the King's Chapel,) in the northern corner, near the Savings' Bank, and not far from Winthrop's tomb." Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* p. 429, note. His grand-son, Cotton Mather, states that his funeral was the "most grievous and solemn that was ever known perhaps upon the American strand; and the lectures in his church, the whole winter following, performed by the neighboring ministers, were but so many funeral sermons upon the death and worth of this extraordinary person." The best account of Cotton is in the biography written by his friend the Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, who arrived at Boston, May 26, 1636, and soon after became minister of the church at Lynn. Whiting's "Life" is the basis of those by Norton and Cotton Mather. It is printed in Young's *Chronicles of Mass.* But in the remarkable paragraph,

to which this note is appended, the discerning reader will find the character of Cotton more distinctly portrayed than by either of his admiring biographers. In this most unsatisfactory account of his connection with the Antinomians may be clearly traced the vacillating temper, the love of middle courses, that gave to the title "Melanchthon of New England" applied to him by Cotton Mather, a fitness which was not designed, and that seems to justify the language of Mr. Bancroft, "the flexible Cotton." Hist. U. S., vol. 1, p. 391. And there are several circumstances which serve to shew that the high estimate in which he was held by all for piety and learning is not to be accepted as measure of his public influence. See Palfrey, Hist. N. E., vol. 2, p. 409.

It is certainly a most instructive illustration of the spirit of that time that he who was afterwards termed "the father and glory of Boston," should, by his own account, have seriously meditated a removal to a distant town, from "an inward loathnesse to be troublesome to godly mindes," and because his "way was suspected to be doubtfull and dangerous."

Answ. Yea truely, if those Jealousies, and differences had still held, I should have accounted it, and then did account it a mercy to see a doore open for remoovall. And therefore in my heart chose it, and purposed it, as a way of wifdome, and mercy.

But whereas he talketh of plucking up by the rootes, the Metaphor is too Catachresticall. An old Tree pluckt up by the rootes is not like to grow againe: but neither he, nor I, was exposed to such an Eradication: we might have remooved (with our selves) whatsoeuer mooveables we had; and what we could not remoove, we might put it off (sooner, or later) unto others for a valuable consideracion. So that though wee had been plucked up by the rootes, our rootes had not been dried up, but would have sprung forth againe to our comfortable supportance.

It is a question altogether impertinent, which the Examiner putteth in the next place, *Whether if the Inhabitants in New-England were permitted to enjoy in Old-England their Congregationall way, whether then Mr. Cotton himselfe (if he were seated in Old England againe) would count it a mercy to be banished from the Civill State?*

For that is not at all the Question in hand, but this: whether if there were no Congregationall Churches in *Old-England*, unto which we might joyne without finne, whether then it were a mercy to be thrust out? And verily for my selfe (and I doubt not for many a thousand more) I should account it a mercy, to be hastened out, yea, (if I lingred) to be thrust out in such a case. If many thousand godly persons in this Countrey did not make the same [52] account, how came we to dwell here, as we doe this day?

Neither yet doe I make God the Author of such cruell mercy, in them that were the causes of our casting out, as be calumniates.

For the Instruments of any unjust dealing with the servants of God may be cruell: when yet the hand of God in ordering such a worke may be most mercifull. The hand of God was most mercifull to *Joseph* in casting him out of his Fathers house into *Ægypt*, when yet the hand of his brethren was defiled with blood-guiltie cruelty.

When the Examiner concludeth, that *if I had been exposed to the miseries, poverties, necessities, wants, debts, hardships of Sea and Land, in a banished Condition, be presumetb I would reach forth a more mercifull Cordiall to the afflicted; and therefore lookest at himselfe afflicted, as a Lampe despised in the eyes of him that is at ease*, Job 12. 5.

I desire the Lord might be pleased to open his eyes by such afflictions, wifely to consider whether he be not out of his way, when he meeteth with such miseries, poverties, debts, hardships? Surely when God hedgeth in the way of his people with thornes, he calleth them to returne to their first husband, for then it was better with them, then now, *Hof. 2. 6.* His banishment was doubtlesse no cause of such afflictions: Divers others have been cast out of the Countrey, as well as he, and yet God hath generally rescued them from affliction, & prospered their estates before his eyes. But when he chooseth rather to betake himselfe to merchandise by Land and Sea, (unto which he was never brought up) then to serve the Lord, and his People in dispensing spirituall food to them in a Church-way, no marvell if the Lord doe not shine upon his way, but exposeth him to debts, necessities, properties, miseries, hardships by Sea and Land.²⁹ It is farre off

²⁹ From a passage in Williams's Letter to Major Mason, dated June 22, 1670, it would appear that he had extensively engaged in trade before leaving Salem. "And surely, between those, my friends

of the Bay and Plymouth, I was sorely trifled, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean, besides the yearly los of no small matter in my trading



from me to despise his afflicted condition : but the truest mercifull cordiall to his afflicted estate, would be to perfwade him that he is out of his way, and still blesseth himselfe (though God both crosse his estate, and blast his spirit) in such a way.

As for my being at ease, (as he calleth it) had he been a little longer acquainted with the faithfull discharge of a Ministers office, he would not judge it such a state of ease. If I durst allow my selfe to seeke, and take mine ease, I should sooner chooze a private solitary condition in his Wildernesse, then all the throng of employment in this numerous society.

IN his 8th Chapter M^{r.} *Williams* rehearseth, and examineth those words of my Letter, wherein to helpe him to a seri-

with the English and natives, being debarred from Boston, the chief mart and port of New England. God knows that many thousand pounds cannot repay my temporary losses I have sustainted." See Knowles, "Life of Roger Williams," Appendix, p. 395. The passage is quoted in Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 32. Unless the statement is exaggerated the busines operations of Williams must have been conducted on an extensive scale. After he relinquished the ministry he supported himself chiefly by trade. In 1649, he was near losing his life by the upsetting of a canoe, loaded with goods, in which he was going from Providence to Narragansett. According to his own account, his trading house at Narragansett, which he was obliged to give up on going to England, had yielded him "one hundred pounds profit per annum." See Knowles's Life, pp. 232-247.

It also seems clear to my mind that the words "by Sea and Land," which Cotton here quotes from Williams's Answer, (Cotton's Letter examined and answered, p. 12,) do not refer, as has been supposed, to the "fourteen weeks" during which Williams says he "was sorely tossed," but to the whole period of his "banished condition." On this account I am unable to subscribe to the opinion that Williams fled from Salem by sea. (See Publications Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 33.) The common metaphor, "I steered my course from Salem," made use of in his Letter to Major Mason, must obviously be interpreted by the words which directly follow, "though in winter snow," language that could scarcely have been used to describe a voyage by water. In speaking of "hardships by Sea," Williams doubtless had in mind such mishaps as the one above referred to.

ous fight of his finne, I said that it pleased the Lord Jesus to fight against his corrupt wayes with the sword of his mouth, in the mouths and testimonies of the Churches, and Brethren. Against whom, when M^r. Williams over-beated himselfe in reasoning, and disputing against the light of his Truth, it pleased the Lord to stop his mouth, by a sodaine disease, and to threaten to take his breath from him. But be in stead of recouyng (as even Balaam offered to doe in the like case) chose rather to persist in his way, and to protest against all the Churches, and Brethren that stood in his way, &c.

In these lines, the Examiner telleth us, *an humble, and discerning Spirit may espie, first, a glorious justification, and boasting of my selfe, and others concurring with me: seconde, an unrighteous, and uncharitable Censure of the afflicted.*

Reply. Whether is it a more glorious boasting, to challenge to a mans selfe, *an humble, and discerning Spirit*, (as the Examiner doth here, and elsewhere in this Treatise) or to ascribe the glory to Christ in fighting with the sword of his mouth, in the testimonies and labours of the Churches, and Brethren against his corrupt wayes?

Surely when our glorying is not in our selves, but in the Lord Jesus, we are allowed so to doe by the Holy Ghost, *Isa 45. 25. In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.*

Object. But is it not a glorious boasting of our selves, when as wee make the sword in our mouths, and testimonies, to be the sword of the mouth of Christ; when as the holy Scripture putteth the sword of Christ in the mouths of such witnesses, as himselfe, and some others, who in meeknesse, and patience, testifye the truthe of Jesus against Antichrist, and against all false Callings of Ministers? And whether is M^r. Cotton, swimming with the streme of outward credit, and profit, and smiting with the fist,

and sword of Persecution: or himselfe, and such other the witnessesse of Christ, most like unto Balaam?

Reply. 1. The quicknesse of the Examiners wit over-runeth his judgement; for I did not compare him to *Balaam* as like, much lesse [54] as most like; but as unlike. For that which *Balaam* would have done, I said, he would not doe.

2. Let the light of the holy word of God discover, and judge, whether the sword of the mouth of the Lord Jesus be found in his mouth, and his fellowes, or in the mouths of the Churches, and Brethren here: and let the tryall be upon this very Point, whether witnesseth for Christ, or for Antichrist?

1. We witnesseth that Christ was never so farre overthrowne, and overcome by Antichrist, but that still the Lord Jesus hath preserved a Congregationall Church, one or more, especially since the Reformation of Religion, by the Ministry of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, and other Ministers of Christ in the dayes of our Fathers.

The Examiner witnesseth, that since the Apostacie of Antichrist, Antichrist hath so farre prevailed against Christ, and his Kingdome, that he hath no Church, nor Church-Officers left upon the face of the earth to this day.

2. Wee witness the godly persons, visible Saints, confessing their knowne sinnes, and professing their faith, are fit materialls for Church-fellowship.

The Examiner witnesseth, that the Churches (which consist of such visible Saints) are nullities, unlesse they discerne every spot, and pollution of Antichrist, and forsake it: (for Inflance) unlesse they see the Antichristian pollution of the Ministry in *England*, and doe refuse to heare the word from it.

3. We witness, that Persons qualified with a convenient measure of spirituall gifts, fit to lead Gods people; and chosen,

and elected by a Congregation of visible Saints, and ordained, and set apart unto the worke of the Ministry, have received a lawfull calling from Christ to that office.

The Examiner witnesseth against this as a false Calling, upon what pretence himself better knowes then I.

4. We witness, that it is lawfull for the King of *England*, to give a Patent to a certain number of his Subjects, to transplant themselves out of *England* into *America*, and to posseſſe such Lands as the Providence of God layeth open before them, between ſuch, and ſuch Degrees of the Horizon. Provided that his Subjects adventure not upon ſuch acts as the Patent never intended, as to murther the Natives, or to diſpoſeſſe them by violence or fraud of their lawfull [55] Poſſeſſions: but either to plant themſelves in a *vacuum Domicilium*, or if they ſit downe upon the Poſſeſſion of the Natives, to receive the ſame from them by a reasonable Purchase, or free Aſſignment.

The Examiner witnesseth againſt all ſuch Patents, and Preacheth it to be unlawfull for Magiſtrates to execute Juſtice upon the *Englyſh* by them, and that it is neceſſary to repent of receiving ſuch Patents, and to returne them back againe into the hands of thofe Princes, or of their Successors, from whom they received them.

5. We witness, that it is lawfull for Magiſtrates (eſpecially in time of danger) to offer to the Subjects under them an Oath of Fidelity, whether they be regeneratē, or unregeneratē.

M^r. Williams witnesseth it to be utterly unlawfull ſo to doe: an Oath for confirmation of Office being peculiare to Christ: and an Oath being a worship of God not meete for unregeneratē Perfons to take into their mouths.

6. Wee witness, that if a Church refue to hearken to the voyce of Magiſtrates in delaying the Elecſion, or ordina-

tion of such an one to Office, whom they finde to be troublesome to the State, then it may be lawfull for Magistrates to delay the granting of the Petition of such a Church for Lands that lie convenient for them.

M^r. *Williams* witnesseth, that in such a case the Church, whose Petition is so delayed, may write Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof such Magistrates are members, to require them to grant without delay such Petitions, or else to Proceed against them in a Church-way.

Now let the Churches of Jesu Christ, and all the Saints on earth judge, in whether sort of these witnesses, the word, and Spirit of Christ, or Antichrist breatheth. As for the deciphering which the Examiner maketh of M^r. *Cotton*, as swimming with the streme of outward credit, and profit, and smiting with the fist, and sword of Persecution of such as doe not joyne in worship with him. I cannot say that I have sworn, but I thanke God I have waded through credit, and discredit, through evill report, and good report, as a deceiver, and yet true. And for profit, I have neither abounded in superfluities, nor (through mercy) have been long destitute of necessaries: but whether this be a badge of Antichrist, and not compatible to the witnesses of Christ, I have not yet learned. 56] And for smiting with the fist, and sword of Persecution, if Persecution be affliction for Righteousnesse sake, I would willingly learne of the Examiner, whom of all the Righteous I have smitten with the fist, or wounded with the sword? I speake according to his own meaning, meaning (as I suppose himselfe doth) neither bodily fist, nor materiall sword; but let him then Instance in some one, or other, that hath felt the heaviness of my fist, or the keenesse of my sword, or else let him remember what the Spirit of God hath said (*Psal. 31. 18.*) concerning such, as speake bitter things

proudly, and contemptuously, (and I also adde) injuriously, and falsely against those whom himselfe in the next line styleth *boly, and beloved.*

To the second, *the Censure which he calleth unrighteous, and uncharitable; He confesseth, it pleased God to bring him neere unto death:* But his Anfwer he returneth in two things. 1. *By deriving the cause of his sicknesse, not from his excessive beate in disputing against the testimonies, and writings of the Churches, and Elders, but from his excessive Labours on the Lords dayes, and thrice a weeke at Salem, by labours day and night in the field with his own bands, by travells day and night also to goe, and returne from the Court.*²⁰

Reply. The Court being held within twelve or fourteene miles distane from *Salem*, travell to, and fro, was no likely cause of such distemper. And whatsoever his Labours were in Towne or Field, on the Lords Dayes, or weeke dayes, (I detract not from them;) but this is all I would say, That that fodaine distemper fell not upon him, neither in the field at his labour, nor on the weeke dayes, or Lords dayes in his Preaching: but in his vehement publick arguing against the writings, and testimonies of the Churches, and Brethren sent to him, and to the Church of *Salem*, against his corrupt wayes. Wherein though I know, *All things fall alike to all:* yet if *Moses* himselfe (as well as *Balaam*) meet with a check in his journey from the hand of God, I beleeve it is a just call to consider; Is there not a lye in my right hand? Or is there not an Idol in my heart? or doe I goe about the worke of God, in a way of God? Howsoever, it was farre from me to upbraide your sicknesse, (as your marginall note taxeth;) but rather to call you to consider of your unprofitable, and perverse use of it.

²⁰ Winthrop alludes to this sicknes. See, ante, p. 32, note 15.

The second part of his Answer is a Recrimination of the Officer [57] of Justice, by whom in this time he was unmercifully driven from his Chamber to a winters flight.

Reply. When he saith, *in this time*; if he meane (as the words foregoing expref) the time wherein he was neere unto death, it is a manifest untruth. For the Officer of Juf-
tice (who then was) is a man fearing God, and of a ^{James Bonne} tender Conscience, and who dare not allow that lib-
erty to his tongue, which the Examiner often ueth in this Discourse: He testifieth, he then spake with Mr. *Williams*,
and that he discerned no signe of sicknesse upon him, much
leſſe of neerneſſe unto death. He testifieth further, that upon
the mourning complaint of ſome of M^r. *Williams* his neighbours, who did adhere to him, he left onely the Warrant with
him, but left him in his houfe to take the time for his depar-
ture limited in his warrant, which was not that night, though
he doe not well remember how many dayes were ſet him.
But this I have been given to understand, that the increase of
concourse of people to him on the Lords dayes in private, to
the negleſt or deferting of publick Ordinances, and to the
spreading of the Leaven of his corrupt imaginations, pro-
voked the Magistrates rather then to breed a winters spirit-
uall plague in the Country, to put upon him a winters
journey out of the Country." *Gangrānam amoveas, nē pars*
fincera trabatur.

³¹ Winthrop gives the following ac-
count, under date of January, 1636:—
"The governor and affliants met at
Bolton to confider about Mr. Williams,
for that they were candidly informed,
that, notwithstanding the injunction laid
upon him (upon the liberty granted him
to stay till the ſpring) not to go about to
draw others to his opinions, he did uie

to entertain company in his houfe, and
to preach to them, even of ſuch points
as he had been censured for; and it was
agreed to fend him into England by a
fhip then ready to depart. The reaſon
was, because he had drawn above twenty
perſons to his opinion, and they were
intended to erect a plantation about the
Narragansett Bay, from whence the in-

TO CHAP. IX.

TO his 9th Chapter, I shall not need to returne any large Reply. Let him read over my words againe, which he examineth, and answere in this Chapter, and they may serve for a just Reply unto his Answer, so farre as it is needfull.

Only let me touch a Passage, or two. When he saith, *That after the first manifestation of the countenance of God, reconciled in the bloud of Christ unto bis soule, it bath been with*

fection would easily spread into these churches, (the people being, many of them, much taken with the apprehension of his godlines.) Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come preffently to Bolton, to be shipp'd &c. He returned answere, (and divers of Salem came with it,) that he could not come without hazard of his life, etc. Whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, etc., to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship, (which then rode at Nantafuctt;) but, when they came to his houfe, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn. Winthrop, 1, 175-176.

Winthrop adds: "He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (espe- cially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the minifters there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them." This statement clearly indicates that, up to this time, the prominent question in dispute was not that of religious toleration but fellowship with the English Churches. Compare with this the additional state-

ment of Winthrop, April 12: "The church of Salem was ſtill infected with Mr. Williams, his opinions, ſo as moft of them held it unlawfull to hear in the ordinary assemblies of England, because their foundation was anti-christian, and we ſhould, by hearing, hold communion with them; and ſome went fo far as they were ready to separate from the Church upon it." Winthrop, vol. 1, p. 185.

The governor referred to by Winthrop was John Haynes, who was choſen in May, 1635. Thirty-five years after theſe events, Williams wrote to Major Mafon: "And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, though he pronounced the ſentence of my long banishment againſt me, at Cambridge, then New town, yet ſaid unto me, in his own house at Hartford, being then in ſome diſference with the Bay: 'I think, Mr. Williams, I muſt now confefs to you, that the moft wife God hath provided and cut out this part of his world for a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of conſciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been, we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not ſatisfied.'" See Pub. Narr. Club, vol. 1, p. 50.

him, as with one whom be faith, I told him off, his Questions, and Troubles have not been concerning his Reconciliation, and Peace with God, but concerning Sanctification, &c.

I would it might please the Lord to periwade his heart, that, that one of whom I spake to him, was but one to whom the Lord [§8] dispensed himselfe in that manner; and he a man, though he suffered much, and wrote much, yet no where magnified his sufferings, nor vilified the Authors of his sufferings: A man that cleaved to the Ordinances, and Saints of God, and not willing to manifest his dissent from his Brethren, no not there where he did dissent, as willing to attribute more to the judgements of other servants of God, then to arrogate to himselfe.

But surely the ordinary manner of Gods dispensation of himselfe to his servants, is otherwise; even to thofe that have been most precious in his sight. *Job* hath sometimes complained, that *God tooke him for his enemy*, Job 13. 24. 26. *David* sometimes complaineth, that *he was cut off from before Gods eyes*, Psal. 31. 22. And that God sometimes *bid his face from him*, Psal. 30. 7. That his soule was also *sore vexed with the sence of Gods anger, and bot displeasure*, Psal. 6. 1. 3. *Asaph* also complaineth of the same, in *Psal. 77.* and *Heman* the *Ezrabite* in *Psal. 88.* and *Hezekiah* in *Ifai. 38.* If the Lord have dealt more indulgently with M^r. *Williams*, he hath the more cause to walke humbly, and circumspectly, and fruitfully before the Lord, which is the worst that I with him. And let him also consider, that whilst he liveth under the Sunne, himselfe is not exempted from the dangerous Inmate of a deceitfull heart. As for Master *Smith*^v he

^v Rev. John Smyth, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. While a preacher in the city of Lincoln he was brought into contact with the Brownists, and zealously espoused their principles. After enduring incessant persecution he fled to Holland in 1606, and joined the English church at Amsterdam, of which

standeth, and falleth to his own Master: whilest he was Preacher to the Citie of *Lincolne*, he wrought with God then: what temptations befell him after, by the evill workings of evill men, and some good men too, I choose rather to tremble at, then discoufe of. If I had made ufe of his Principles, and Arguments, (as this Examiner faith I have) it is more then my felfe know: for I have not been acquainted with sundry of his writings, as being discouraged with that one, wherein he maketh Originall finne an idle name. Albeit, I refuse not to learne from any man, as being conſcious to my felfe of mine own emptineſſe.

But (faith the Examiner) whatſoever M^r. Smiths Temptations, and Falls have been: yet that opinion of M^r. Cotton, or any, is moſt grievous to God, and man, and not comparable to any that ever M^r. Smith could be charged withall: nor is any finne comparably ſo grievous in Gods Davids, as a treacherous slaughter of the faithfull, whom wee are forced to call, Beloved in Christ.

Reply. This is one of the Instances amongst many others, upon [59] which I was mooved to ſpeake even now, that the Examiner alloweth more liberty to his tongue, then the Messenger of Justice, a man of tender Conſcience, (of whom

Henry Ainfworth was teacher. (See, p. 59, p. 119.) Soon after a ferious breach took place, Mr. Smyth maintaining the opinions which were afterwards termed Arminian. He was the author of ſeveral treatises. So rigid, however, did his principles of Separation come to be, that he would not grant that even the baptism administered by ministers of the English church was valid, and becoming at the fame time convinced that immersion was the only proper form, he remedied the defect, in his own cafe, by

plunging into the ſea, whence he received the name of a Se-baptift. He was, by all accounts, an able and learned man, and his views have probably been much miſrepresented. At leaſt he ſaid himſelf, "We diſclaim the errors commonly, but moſt flanderouſly imputed to us." He died about the cloſe of the year 1610. See Brooks, Lives of the Puritans, 2, 195. Neal's Puritans, vol. 1, p. 437, of the quarto ed. An attempt has been made to diſprove the flory of the baptism.

I spake) durst use. But when a man is delivered up to Satan, and neither his minde, nor conscience, nor tongue, nor pen, are his own, no marvell if he cast forth fire-brands, and arrowes, and mortall things, which I suppose a Publican, or Pagan would hardly utter, without some more colourable pretence then the Examiner hath to say, *That M^r. Cotton is of opinion, that it is lawfull to commit a treacherous slaughter of the Saints, whom we are forced to call, Beloved in Christ.*

To the accusation I shall (God helping) make further Answer in his Place : Meane while, let the Examiner know, that I was not forced to call him, *Beloved in Christ*. That I did so style him, it was out of indulgence of charitie, not out of any necessitie of dutie.

TO CHAP. X.

THe residue of my Letter to M^r. *Williams* was taken up in remooving two stumbling blocks out of his way, which turned him off from fellowship with us. The former was, the want of fit matter of our Churches. The latter, our disrespect to the separate Churches in *England*. Our want of fit matter he acknowledged stood, not in this, that *we wanted godly persons to be the visible members of our Churches, (for with joy, he acknowledgeth that:) but in this, that all godly persons are not matter fit to constitute a Church, no more then Trees, or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.*

This exception of his seemed to me to imply a contradiction : *for if the matter of our Churches were (such as himselfe acknowledged) godly persons, they were not then as Trees unfeld, nor as stones in the Quarry unbewen : for godlinesse cutteth men*

*downe from their former roote, and beweth them out of the Pit
of corrupt Nature, and fitteth them for fellowship with Christ,
and with his People.*

The summe of his Answere is (though delivered in other words obscurely and confusedly, yet in fence) thus much; That he accounteth our members, as Trees or Quarries, not for that they are not yet cut out of the pit or roote of naturall corruption, but for that they are not yet removed and clensed from actuall and Antichristian [60] pollution. *In
which case, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Sampson, Job, David,
Peter, in their drunkenesse, lying, whoredomes, curfings, murders,
Perjuries, though they were godly persons: yet not fit members
for Church estate. And so our Church-members, bowsoever
godly otherwise, yet through ignorance, and negligence, lying
under Antichristian pollutions, ever since the Apostacie, are not
fit members for Church-estate.*

Reply. 1. I doe willingly allow him to be the Interpreter of his own meaning: and doe easily grant him, that with that distinction, he salveth his contradiction. But yet let him remember, his words were very unproper, to account godly Persons fallen into any actuall Pollution, to be matter fitted for a Church, no more then Trees or Quarries are fit matter proportioned to a Building.

Wee are not wont, neither in common speech, nor in proper speech, to account such persons, as have been already cut off from the roote and pit of naturall corruption, to be no more then Trees and Quarries, though they have since fallen into actuall pollution; but we rather account them like Timber and Stones, cut out, and hewen, yet fallen into some mire by the breach of the Axeltree of their Carriage, and therefore fit to be washed before they be layed in the Building. But leave that, as it please him.

Reply. 2. He may doe well to consider, that the most of those Saints he nameth, were not as rude Trees and Quarries unproportioned to the Building, but as Trees of Righteousnesse, and living Stones, layed by God himselfe in the Building of his Church. But I easily grant him, that according to the Discipline of the Churches of Christ in the dayes of the Gofpel, it were meete that godly persons falling into any grosse, and scandalous, and notorious pollution, they should first give satisfacion to the Church by profession of their Repentance, before they be received into holy fellowship with the Lord, and his People, in Church-communion. In which respect, if Christ be confidered as head of the visible Church, he who is a member of the Church, (and so a member of Christ) may fall so foully into grosse finne, and be so enthralled to it, as to be separate from the Church, yea and from Christ too, confidered as the visible head of it. *And therefore the Examiner mislook bimselfe, and me too, when he writeth, that I affirmed, that godly persons cannot be so enthralled to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* For I never denied, that godly persons may fall, as into other grosse 61] and notorious finnes; so also into grosse and notorious Antichristian Pollutions, so as to separate them from Church-Communion, yea and from Christ himselfe, as he is the Head of the visible Church.

Reply. 3. But to cleare the point more fully and plainly; Put the case, that the Saints whom the Examiner setteth forth in their pollutions, (as *Noah, Abramam, Lot, Sampson, Job, David, Peter,*) suppose, I say, they had openly professed their Repentance for their open scandals, of drunkennesse, lying, incest, murder, &c. and all their other knowne scandals, but had neither discerned nor bewayled the sinne of Polygamy: yea, suppose the Church with which they might

joyne, did neither discerne the necessitie, nor dutie of acknowledging that sinne, whether such Saints were to be refused from Church-communion, (as rude Trees and Quarries?) or if they were received as members into the Church, whether was such a Church to be separated from? If yea, we must look for new Rules for it out of a new Gospel. If no, then will the Examiner want a Rule for his separation from all the Churches in *New-England*.

For this is the very state of the Question, as the Examiner himselfe rehearseth it, in this Chapter. For he having objected, that *a necessitie lieth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of the false Churches, worship, Ministry, Government, (according to Scriptures, Isai. 62. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17.) And this to be done, not by a locall remoovall, but by a deliverance of the soule, understanding, will, judgement and affection, &c.*

He subjoyneth my Answer out of my Letter in these words;

1. *We grant, that it is not locall remoaval from former pollution, nor contrary practise, that fitteth us for fellowship with Christ, and his Church: but that it is necessary also, that we doe repent of such former Pollutions, wherewith we have been defiled and entralled.*

2. *We grant further, that it is necessary to Church-fellowship, that we should see and discerne all such pollutions, as doe so farre entralle us to Antichrist, as to separate us from Christ. But this we professe unto you, that wherein we have reformed our practise, therein we have endeavoured unfaidely to humble our soules for our former contrary walking. If any through hypocrite are wanting herein, the bidden hypocrite of some will not prejudice the sinceritie, and faithfulness of others, nor the Church-estate of all.*

This though the Examiner doe rehearse it here in this Chapter : [62] yet here he answereth nothing to it, though it be the very hinge of the Controversie. If we meet with any Answer to it in the sequele, we shall (God willing) consider of it in its place.

Onely let me adde this third thing to cleare the state of the controverſie more fully, That to this day we doe not ſee nor diſcern, that it is any Antichriſtian pollution at all, for a member of any of our Churches, going over into *England*, to hearre the word Preached by a well-gifted Minister in the Parish Asſemblyes.

To C H A P . XI.

IN this Chapter, the Examiner propoundeth a ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Reason, to prove that, (which I deny not) to wit, *That a neceſſitie lyeth upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, truely to ſee and bumbly to bewaile their ſpirituall bondage under Antichriſtian pollution, and withall to obtaine ſome power and ſtrength from Jeſus Chriſt to bring them out of it.*

This I ſay, I deny not, nor ever did. But this neceſſitie I conceive to be *Neceſſitas præcepti*, (as they call it, or *officii*) as that which is the commandement of God, and the duty of godly men to doe: But not *Neceſſitas medij ad finem*, ſuch a neceſſitie, as without which a godly person cannot be a member of the Church, unleſe the ſpirituall bondage under Antichriſtian pollution, doe fo farre enthrall him to Antichriſt, as to ſeparate him from Christ as he is the Head of the viſible Church. Which what it is, we ſhall have fitter occasion to ſpeake of in the ſequele.

To his second Argument I would therefore Answer, that as an holy Altar and Temple to God, could not have been built to God in the midst of *Babylon*, but the Builders must come locally out of *Babel* to build it in *Hierusalem*: So a Church of Christ cannot be built to God, but by such Builders as spirituallie come out of Antichristian pollutions and inventions, at least out of such pollutions as keepe them still in *Babel*, and detaine them under Antichrist, and separate them from Christ.

To his third Argument, I would grant all that he saith in it to be true: But how he applieth it to inferre his conclusion, he neither expresteth, nor is it easie for me to gather. If his meaning be, [63] that *Luther*, and other godly persons, might not be received into Church-fellowship in those dayes, because they saw not the bottomlesse gulfe of all those Anti-christian corruptions, which the Lord hath since discovered; It is a conclusion that I durst not inferre, nor will he be ever able to make good. It is not alwayes full Moone in respect of spirituall light with every Church of God in all ages alike.

To his fourth Argument, taken from my own Practise; *In that I doe not receive all Persons, eminent for Grace and godlinesse, forthwith to the fellowship of the Lords Supper, till upon their entrance into Covenant, with a Confession of faith, &c.*

I would answer, it is not because I thinke such persons are not fit matter for Church estate; but because they yet want a fit Forme, requisite to Church-estate.

His last Argument, is taken from a famous Passage (as he calls it) of a solemne Question put to me, and to the other New-Englysh Elders, unto whic平 I with the rest did answere Negatively, That if godly persons coming over hither did refuse to submit to our way of worship and Government, that then they could not onely not enjoy Church-fellowship together, but not be

permitted to breath and live in the same common ayre and Common-wealth together.

To which I answer; 1. That it is suitable to his wonted boldnesse, to affirme that of me which is more then he knoweth, and indeed more then is truth. For though he say, that M^r. Cotton, and the New-English Elders returned that Answere: yet the answere to that Question, and to all the other thirty-two Questions, were drawne up by M^r. Mader,³³ and neither drawne up nor sent by me, nor (for ought I know) by the other Elders here, though published by one of our Elders there. Howsoever, the substance of that Answer (not which M^r. Williams rehearseth, but which M^r. Mader returned) doth generally suite with all our mindes, as I conceive.

2. In particular; The Answer which our reverend and beloved brother M^r. Mader did returne unto that Question, I have read it, and did readily approve it (as I doe the substance of all his Answers) to be judicious, and solide. But this I must needs professe, that his Answer to this Question is notoriously flandered, and abused by the Examiner.

³³ This is a misprint. The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, is meant. "The discourse about the *Church-Covenant*, and the answere to the *thirty-two* questiones, both written in the year 1639, though they passe under the name of the ministers of New England, Mr. Mather was the sole author of them." See the Life of Mr. Richard Mather, in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

Richard Mather was born of an ancient but reduced family, in 1596. For many years he was a minister of the English Church, but having been twice suspended for non-conformity, he removed, at the urgent solicitation of Cot-

ton and Hooker, to New England. In 1636, he was ordained Teacher of the Church in Dorchester, and remained there until his death, April 22, 1669. In his old age he married the widow of Cotton, his son Increase, President of Harvard College, having married a daughter. From this latter union sprang Cotton Mather.

In 1844 the Journal of his Voyage was discovered in a box of old papers in Dorchester, and afterwards published by Dr. Young, in the "Chronicles of Mass." See also, Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 3, 440. Neal's History of the Puritans, 1, 586.

64.] For 1, There is no word at all in that Answer, *that denieth permission to such godly persons to live and breath in the same ayre of the Common-wealth.* Let the Answer be perused; It is too long for me to transcribe; the Book is publicquely extant, and obvious: and see if there be a syllable sounding that way.³⁴

2. In that Answer he distinguisheth (out of M^r. Cartwright,³⁵

³⁴ In 1643, about the time of the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, the Answer of Mather was published in London, with the title, "Church Government and Church Covenant discussed, in an Answer of the Elders of the several Churches in New England to Two and Thirty Questions sent over to them by divers Ministers in England."

³⁵ Thomas Cartwright, the famous Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, whose lectures are justly regarded as the beginning of the second period of English Puritanism, was born about the year 1535, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he pursued the study of law, but at the accession of Elizabeth he returned to the University, and, soon after, his great learning caused him to be elected fellow of Trinity College. In 1570, he commenced delivering a course of lectures upon Acts, in which he inculcated the unlawfulness of any form of church government, except that which the Apostles themselves had instituted. A strong effort was made by Archbishop Grindal to induce Cecil, who at that time was Chancellor of the University, to silence Cartwright and his adherents, but as the prudent statesman was inclined to act with moderation, the obnoxious professor was summoned before the Vice Chancellor, Whitgift, and on refusing

to revoke the opinions he had advanced, was removed from his position and forbidden to preach within the jurisdiction of the University. Cartwright soon after went abroad, and became minister of the English merchants at Antwerp.

His personal qualities combined with his great attainments to make him a formidable party leader. In 1572 he published his celebrated Admonition to the Parliament, calling on that body to reform the various abuses in the church. From this moment the contest ceased to be a mere quarrel about vestments, it involved the whole authority of the Anglican hierarchy. He was answered by Whitgift, and the controversy was continued for some time. Cartwright maintained that the Scriptures were the sole standard, not only for doctrine, but also for government and discipline.

Being summoned before the High Commission, Cartwright fled a second time to Antwerp, where he continued several years, until declining health forced him to return to his native country, when he was apprehended and thrown into prison. His old adversary, Whitgift, who was now Archbishop, released him, on promise of remaining quiet, and by the favor of the Earl of Leicester he was made Master of the Hospital at Warwick. He was once more before the High Commission in

and M^r. Parker)¹⁶ touching matters of Church Discipline, and maketh some to be the substantiall and immutable, others of a more accidentall and circumstantiall nature.

In the former, he doubteth not but that we and all the godly Ministers in England shoud accord (if they were here;) as believing, that either we shoud satisfie them in our way, or they us in theirs; so as there would never be Question, whether we shoud embrace one another as Sister-Churches.

In the latter, to wit, in matters circumstantiall, we are all taught of God, *Placide ferre aliud sentientes.*

3. When the Examiner maketh it his own case, *not to be permitted to live and breath in the same ayre and Commonwealth, though M^r. Cotton, and others, most incensed, gave him a testimony of godlineſſe, &c.*

Let him be pleased to look back, to what hath been formerly laid open, and he will finde this Instance of himselfe wholly impertinent. For the casting of him out of the Com-

1590, and again was cast into prison. During his confinement, King James, of Scotland, warmly interceded in his behalf, but he was not released for some time. The remainder of his days were passed at Warwick, where he died Dec. 27, 1603. Abundant mention of Cartwright may be found in Strype and Neal; see also Hallam, Cons. Hist. Eng., ch. 4.

¹⁶ The Rev. Robert Parker became rector of a church in Essex in 1571. He was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He was afterwards beneficed at Wilton, in Wiltshire, where he remained many years. By the publication of a Treatise on the Cross in Baptism he was involved in difficulties with Archbishop Bancroft, and fleeing to Holland, would have been chosen minister of the

English Church at Amsterdam, had not the magistrates been afraid of displeasing James First. He then removed to Doefburg, where, soon after, he died, in 1614.

The most important of his works was a treatise "De Politia Ecclesiastica," in which he advanced opinions like those of Cartwright. "We hold," said he, "that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of the church in matters of religion; and that the word of Christ, which he hath given to his church, is of absolute perfection, containing all parts of true religion, both for substance and ceremony, and a perfect direction in all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever, unto which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add, or from which to detract." See Neal, vol. 1, pp. 436, 456. Brooks's Lives, 2, 237.

mon-wealth, sprung not from his difference in matters of Church Discipline.¹⁷ It was well knowne that whilst he lived at Salem, he neither admitted, nor permitted any Church-members, but such as rejected all Communion with the Parish Assemblies, so much as in hearing of the Word amongst them. And this libertie he did use and might have used to this day, without any disturbance to his Civill or Church-Peace, (sawe onely in a way of brotherly disquisition;) but it was his Doctrines and Practises which tended to the Civill disturbance of the Common-wealth, together with his heady and busie pur-suite of the same, even to the rejection of all Churches here.

¹⁷ Compare the following passage from Cotton's Treatise "Of the Holiness of Church-Members," London, 1650. "The objector is too credulous, if he believes every such fabulos report, *That we exclude any from our Churches whom we grant to be truly gracious and elect.* We exclude none such, and much leſſe, upon this ground alone, *Becaſe they cannot approve of our Independence and Covenant.* We have received ſome members in our Churches, who are not onely Presbyteriall in judgment, but Epifcopall alſo. Nor do I know, that even we refuſed any approved godly perſon upon point of diſference in judgment about Church-government. Nor do we pinch upon any godly man's conſcience in point of Covenant, in caſe he be willing to profeſſe his ſubjection to Christ in his Church according to the order of the Gofpel. Nor do we limit him to our own way of the order of the Gofpel, but as it ſhall be cleared and approved to his own conſcience." p. 60.

This Treatise of Cotton, designed as a reply to Baylie's "Diffusive from the Errors of the Time," was addreſſed "To my honored, worshipfull, and worthy

Friends, the Mayor, and Juſtices, the Aldermen and Common Councill, together with the whole Congregation and Church at Bolton." After the abolition of Epifcopal church government in England, Cotton had been invited to return and resume his old position. A paſſage in this preface furniſhes an intereſting proof of the affectionate intercourse that had always been maintained between Cotton and his former parish. "And ever ſince that time wherein the strong hand of the Lord, and the malignancy of the times, had ſet this vast diſtance of place, and great gulf of ſea between us: yet ſtilly thou claimed an interest in me, and have yearly ministered, ſome reall teſtimony of your love: and at laſt when the Lord (of his rich grace) had diſpelled the ſtorme of malignant Church-government, you invited me again and again, to return to the place and work wherein I had walked, before the Lord and you in former times." Perhaps it was this "yearly" miniftration that enabled Cotton to ſay "I have neither abounded in ſuperfluities, nor, (through mercy) have been long defitute of neceſſaries." *ante*, p. 55.

These they were that made him unfit for enjoying Communion either in the one state, or in the other. When he reckoneth me, and me only by name, (as one of the most incensed against him) I reckon it as one of his usuall exorbitant Hyperboles : unlesse by *Incensed*, he meane one that with some others, were most kindled, [65] and stirred up to endeavour his satisfaction. And then his terme *Incensed*, though it be not an Hyperbole, yet it is an Acurology.

Neither doe I remember, that he hath any caufe to say,
I gave him a Testimony of godlinessse.

For his godlinessse, I leave it to him who is the searcher of hearts : I neither attested it, nor denied it.

Every brother in the Church, though he may be called a brother in Christ, as Christ is the Head of the vible Church : and being cast out of the Church, though he may be admonished as a Brother, and so have fome reference still to Christ, yet godlinessse requireth a Participation of the Divine Nature, (I speake in Peters fence, 2 Pet. 1. 4.) by the power of the Spirit of Grace, conforming us to fellowship with Christ, and his Churches : the which things have not so evidently appeared to me, (I speak it with grieve) either in his spirit, or in his way these many years.³⁶ And yet I deny not, others may discerne more Power of Godlinessse in him, then I doe,

³⁶ This most uncharitable remark, only too characteristic of the religious controversies of that age, is explained by fome obseruations of Cotton on page 11. From a comparision of the two passages it is sufficiently clear that what prevents Cotton from recognizing the "Power of Godlinessse" in Williams is the position which the latter had assumed with regard to the outward ordinances of religion. Cotton seems to have been singularly blinded to thole practical proofs of

a "Participation of the Divine Nature," which fecured for Williams, through all his troubles, the steady friendship of Winthrop, and which elicited a cordial recognition from "that great and pious soul," Edward Winslow. See Preface, p. 7. "The best indication of the purity and elevation of the religious life of Williams is furnished in the remarkable tract which forms a part of the present volume, the "Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health."

and may speake of him accordingly. But it was no uncharitable speech of *Paul*, to tell the *Galatians*, and that before all the Churches, that he stood in feare of them, *Gal.* 4. 10. The life of faith (from whence springeth both the truth, and the Power of Godlinesse) is very repugnant to Self-fulnesse, *avthætæa*; Faith emptieth a man of self-confidence, and maketh him apt to acknowledge with *Agur*, *Truely I am more foolish than any man*, *Prov.* 30. 2. But the Lord help us to tremble before him: If he leave us (though but a while) to our selves, we can soone learne to reigne as Kings, (like the *Corinthians*) without Church-Officers, or the Ordinances of Christ, *1 Cor.* 4. 8.

TO C H A P. XII.

HIs 12th Chapter is taken up in Examining and Answering a speech of mine, *That godly persons are not so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate from Christ: Else they could not be godly persons.*

His Answere is, *That this cometh not neere the Question, which is not concerning personall godlineſſe, or Grace in Christ, but the godlineſſe or Christianitie of worship.*

66] Whereupon he distinguishest of Christ, as considered two waies: 1. *Personally, as God-man, &c.* 2. *As Head of his Church.* In the former fence (be acknowledgeth) they cannot be so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to be separate from Christ: in the latter they may.

Reply. This distinction of Christ is inconveniently exprefſed, as was the like once before. For the *membra dividentia*, the parts of the diuision are coincident. Christ as God-man is the Head of the visible Church. But his meaning I appre-

hend, and accept. Christ God-man is Head both of the invisible Church, and of the visible; As he is Head of the invisible Church, so he is received by faith: As he is head of the visible, so he is received by profession of the true faith, both of the grace of faith, and of the Doctrine of faith. The proper fruit whereof is holy worship, and professed subjection to the Rule of the Gospel."

Now for his application of his Distinction, in the generall I doe approve it, and doe willingly acknowledge, that a godly perlon may be (through ignorance, or negligence) so farre enthralled to Antichrist, as to be separate from Christ, taking Christ as Head of the visible Church. For he may fall into such fundamentall Antichristian corruption, in Doctrine, or Worship, or Government, as either may justly prevent his admission into the Church, or being in the Church, and yet (through pang of Temptation) continuing obstinate

³⁹ "And whence is all that spiritual power and life, which the people of God do ordinarily finde in all the visibile Churches of the Saints, in all their holy administrations, if Christ be not the head of those visibile Churches, and if the holy Ghost dwell not in them. Mr. *Baily* may speak long enough of our leading men towards Anabaptisme, and and Socinianisme: but (to speake the truth, a conscience constraineth me before the Lord) if I should intend to drive men to Enthusiasme, and Familisme (which is the worst kinde of Anabaptisme, and Socinianisme) I should take no other course, but these principles chiefly: why do men stand so much upon visibile Churches, and their purity? They are neither temples of the holy Ghost, nor members of Christ, nor children of God almighty: these glorious

files belong not to them, but to an hid- den invisible company of Saints scattered univercally, and invisibly all the world over. And will now thele strengthen the hands of Seekers and Familiists, to feek Christ (where he may be found in true spiritual life) in deserts and secret chambers? Matth. 24. 26. what stand we upon visibile Churches, or ordained Elders, or curfures? These are husks, and shels: the kernel, and Spirit of life lyeth in an hidden society. But surely it is neither good nor safe to pluck away from the visibile Churches of Saints, I say not, these ornaments, and vails: but their very vitals, and cordials, which is the fellowship of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost breathing amongst them." See Cotton's Treatise "Of the Holiness of Church-Members," London, 1650: p. 48.

in his corruption after conviction, he may justly be excommunicate out of the Church. But lest I may seeme to hover (and so to vanish) in Generalities, whilst I onely speake of Antichristian corruptions in generall: I shall willingly Instance in some Particulars, which may give light to others of like nature. It is an Antichristian corruption in Doctrine, to accept any Propitiatory Sacrifices for our reconciliation, but the death of Christ only.

It is a like corruption, to look for Justification from sinne in the sight of God by our own works.

It is an Antichristian corruption in worship, to worship Angels, or Saints, or Images.

It is an Antichristian corruption in Government, to take the Pope to be the Head of the Church: and such an Head as hath Power to make Laws to binde the Conscience, to authorize Scripture to be Canonical, to adde other Books to Scripture with like Authoritie, to be himselfe the onely Authenticall Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversies.

67] These and the like corruptions are such as make Antichrist a Sonne of Perdition, and them that are led by him to fall into like Perdition with him. Of one of these Points *Paul* faith, They that hold it, hold not the Head, *Col. 2. 18, 19.* Of another of these *Paul* faith, They that hold it are abolished from Christ, *Gal. 5. 4.* The like wee may say of all the rest. Yet in times of former darknesse, some of the faithfull members of Christ, might and were for a time entangled with a yoke of Bondage, in some, or most, or all of these Particulars: out of which the Lord at length rescued them by variety of Temptations, and by some breaking forth of light in the mouths of some of his witnessies in every age.

But whilst any of them walked in these, or like corruptions, they might justly be debarred from admission into

Church-fellowship: or standing fast in them after conviction, they might justly be cast forth out of Church-fellowship.

But there be other corruptions, and Antichristian corruptions too, which because they doe not subvert the Foundation, neither of faith, nor of Church-order, I would not say that they separate from Christ, no not as he is the Head of the visible Church. For then if some whole Church were leavened with them, they might soone cease to be a Church. But we see the contrary in Scripture, the High Places were tolerated in *Judah*, and yet *Judah* ceased not to be a Church: And by like proportion some more high and eminent Power may be given by some Churches to their Officers, (according to an Antichristian Patterne in some measure) and yet they not cease to be a Church. *David* and all the Congregation of *Israell* might bring up the Arke of God in a Cart, (after the manner of the *Phelestines*) and yet not disanull their Church-estate: And by like proportion, so may a Church of Christ take up some orders, (as the carting of some part of their worship upon a Book) after the manner of Antichrist, and yet not forthwith evacuate their Church-estate.

But this let me further adde, that a godly perfon may have some kinde of communion, so farre as hearing the word from a Minister well gifted by Christ, to whose calling some corruption may cleave, both in his Church-estate, and in his Ordination: And yet neverthelesse, no Antichristian Pollution at all may cleave or redound to the hearer by his hearing of him. And this being the [68] Principall Exception w^{ch} the Examiner taketh against some of the members of our churches, & against all the churches for their sakes, we shall further (God willing) cleare when the Examiner putteth it upon us in the sequele. Meane while, we professe as we doe beleieve, that such an action is not any Church-cōmunion

with Antichrist, nor doth so enthrall the People of God unto Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, no not as he is Head of the visible Church.

The Answer which (upon occasion of this Point) the Examiner giveth to the Papists Question, (*Where was your Church before Luther?*) though it seeme to him well and good: yet it gratifieth the Papists, and straitneth the holy Counsell of God in Scripture. *The Question, saith he, is thus well answered, to wit, That since the Apostacie of Antichrist, Truth, and the holy Citie, (according to the Prophecy, Rev. 11. & 13.) have been troden under-foot, and the whole Earth hath wandered after the Beast; yet God hath stirred up witnessesse to Prophecy in sackcloth against the Beast, during his 42 moneths Reigne. Neverthelesse, these witnessesse have in their times more or leſſe submitted to Antichrist, and his Church, Worſhip, Miniftrey, &c. And ſo confequently have been ignorant of the true Church, that is, Chriſt taken for the Church in the true Profefſion of that holy way of worſhip, which he himſelfe at firſt appointed.* This Answer giveth away the caufe to the Papists. They demand, *Where was your Church before Luther?* This Answer giveth it for granted, that ſince the Apostacie there was no particular church extant in the world. This fully ſatisfieth their deſire, and expeſtation: for if there were no Church of Chriſt in the world, for ſo many Centuries of yeares till Luther, then they readily conclude, That their Church of Rome was (before Luther) the onely Church in the world. For they urge it, (and I know not how we can fairely deny it) that the Church of Chriſt, even that Church to which the keys of the kingdome are committed, (which is the viſible Church) is that againſt which the *Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevaile*, and ſo not all the Power of Anti-chriſt. If then the viſible Church of Chriſt ſhall never ceafe,

and yet during all that time of the Apostacie of Antichrist, no Church was extant in the world, but the Church of *Rome*, then during all that time (which is not yet expired) the Church of *Rome* is, and hath been the onely Church of Christ these many ages. Besides, as this Answerer gratifieth the Papist, and maketh the promise of Christ (*Mat. 16. 18, 19.*) of none effect: so it [69] straitneth the Counsell of God in the very Texte of Scripture alledged by himself. For in that Text (*Rev. 11.*) where the outward Court is given to the Gentiles, (that is, Ecclesiastical Courts, given to Antichrist & his Clergy) v. 2. There also a rod or reed is given by the Angel unto *John*, to measure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and them that worship therein, v. 1. Which evidently holdeth forth that even then there was somewhere extant the Temple, that is, the vible Church of Christ, which had communion with Christ as Head of the Church, there called *The Altar, and the Temple*, was furnished with true worshippers, and all measured according to the Patterne of Apostolical Rule. What if Ecclesiastical Stories be deficient in telling us the times and places of their Church-Assemblies? Is therefore the Word of God deficient, or the Church deficient, because humane Stories are deficient? Great hath been the industry and vigilancy of Satan and Antichrist, to blot out (as much as in them lay) all Monuments and Records of such holy Assemblies: but yet sometimes their own Inquisitors confess, that the Churches of the *Waldenses*, or men of that way, have been extant *a tempore Apostolorum*.⁴⁰

Furthermore, evident it is, that when the Dragon persecuted the woman, (that is, the Church) the Church fled into the Wildernes, and was there nourished for a time, and times,

⁴⁰ The peculiar views of Williams respecting the Church, to which Cotton 21, page 45, ante.

and halfe a time, (Rev. 12. 14.) which is all the time, wherein the Beast reigned, Rev. 13. 5. And wherein the Gentiles, having obtained Rule in the Court, *trod downe the holy Citie under-foote*, Rev. 11. 2.

Moreover, evident also it is, that all the Angels (or Ministers) of Gods wrath that poured out their Vials upon the Antichristian State, did all of them issue forth out of the Temple, and out of the Temple as then opened, Rev. 15. 5, 6. Which argueth that the Temple or Church was not onely then visible, but openly visible: not visible onely to the secreit Assembly of the true worshippers, but openly conspicuous to them that had not seene it before. Now how all those seven Angels should come out of the Temple, and it openly visible, and all of them poure out their Vials upon the Antichristian State by seven Degrees, to the utter defolation of it: and yet no Church extant, either before Luther, or since Luther, till the utter extirpation of Antichrist, passeth all my comprehension.

HIS 13th Chapter is taken up in Examining and Answering a second Answer, which I gave to his Objection propounded above in Chap. 10. The Answer was this, as he setteth it downe.

Secondly, we deny that it is necessary to Church-fellowship, (that is so necessary, that without it a Church cannot be) That the members admitted thereunto, shoud all of them see, and expressly bewaile all the pollutions which they have been defiled with in their former Church-fellowship, Ministry, worship,



Government, &c. " If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichrist, so, as to separate them from Christ: and witball be ready in preparation of heart, as they shall see more light, so to hate more and more every false way. This we conceive to be as much, as is necessarily required to separate them from Antichrist unto fellowship with Christ, and his Churches, &c.

For Answer hereunto, the Examiner desireth three things to be observed :

1. M^r. Cottons own *Confession of that two-fold Church-estate, worship, &c.* The former false: or else why to be so bewailed and forsaken? The second true, to be embraced and submitted to.

Reply. This observation is more then is intended, or can justly be gathered from my words : For even a true Estate of a Church, Worship, Ministry, &c. may be bewailed, though not in regard of the falsehood of the estate, yet in regard of the pollutions that cleaved to it, which were as so many false wayes in the Administration of it.

2. The second thing, which he would have to be observed, is my own confession of that which a little before I would

" It should be remembered that Williams, on first coming to New England, had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there." See Winthrop, t, 53.

Winthrop here uses the expression, "churches" of England, while in the "Humble Requie," published in London immediately after the sailing of the Arbella, and which in all probability proceeded from his pen, (see Life and

Letters of Winthrop, 1630-1649,) the expression "Church of England" occurs in the well known passage in which he speaks of his Company, "as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother," p. 11. Is this change of expression to be regarded as accidental, or had Winthrop, at this time, adopted the Congregational theory? By taking part in the ordination of Wilton, (see post, p. 77, note 45,) he certainly recognized the distinction between National and Parochial churches.

make so odious in him to hold, to wit, *That Gods People may be so farre enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* For these were my words; *If they see and bewaile so much of their former pollutions, as did enthrall them to Antichrist, so as to separate them from Christ.*

Reply. 1. His expressions of himselfe in that Point were so incommodious, as that a plaine Reader, (such as my selfe, unwonted to heare such language, in his sence) could not easily conceive, *that be speaking of godly persons, no lesse unfit for Church-fellowship, then Trees and Quarries unfit for a Building.*

71] I say, I could not easily conceive, that by Trees and Quarries should be meant any other persons then unregenerate: and it seemed to me, to imply a contradiction, to call them ungodly, who were unregenerate.

Reply. 2. The Examiner wrongeth himselfe and me, to say, *That I would have made it odious in him, to say that godly persons cannot be so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ.* The odiousnesse he speaketh of is a contradiction: And it was himselfe, not I, that forged that contradiction, as hath been shewed above.

Reply. 3. My words out of which he gathereth this obseruation, are misreported: and the contradiction ariseth from his misreport, not from my words. For Gods People, and godly persons are not all one. Any Church-members may be called Gods People, as being in externall Covenant with him, (*Psal. 81. 11.*) and yet they are not alwayes godly persons. Gods People may be so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate them utterly from Christ, both as Head of the visible, and invisible Church also. But godly persons cannot be so enthrall'd to Antichrist, as to separate them from Christ, as the Head of the invisible Church: though, as I said before,

they may be separated from him, as the Head of the visble Church.

3. The third thing which the Examiner would have to be obserued in my words, is, *How easilie a soule may wander in his generalls: for thus I write, though they see not all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Churcb-fellowship: Againe, if they did see so much as did enthrall them to Anticchrist, and separate them from Christ. And yet (saith he) he expresteth nothing of that, all the pollutions, nor what so much is, as will separate them from Christ.*

Reply. 1. Though these words might feeme generall to a stranger, who knew nothing of the occasion of them: yet to the Examiner himselfe, (to whom in private I writ them) it was easie and obvious to poynt with the finger, at the particular I intended in these. He knoweth the Question was; *Whether the bearing of the Ministers of the Parishes in England, was such an Antichristian pollution, as either to cut off such persons from Churcb-fellowship, or the Churches themselves from Christ.* Our Answer was; 1. That it was no Antichristian pollution at all: 2. If it were, it was more then either our members, or our Churches yet saw, or were convinced of: and then generall confessions, and generall repentance would serve for unknowne [72] finnes. To the same purpose, is this generall Answer framed here: which himselfe well knoweth upon what particular occasion it grew, and to what particular case it had reference.

Reply. 2. Besides, why should we count the Answer as wandring in Generalities, when it was fitted to his generall Objection? His Objection was *Chapt. 10. That a necessitie lay upon godly men, before they can be fit matter for Churcb-fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, come out of the false Churches, Worshyp, Ministry, Government.*

Now here are onely generall words: no particular mention of the falsehoods that lye in the Churches, Worship, Ministry, Government. Why should he blame wandring in Generallie in the Answere, when his own Objection wan-dereth in the like Generalities.

Reply. 3. If he please to look back to the Reply given in his 12. Chapter, he may finde me plaine and punctuall in Instancing in particulars. But thus having passed over his Observations upon my former Answere, he now cometh to returne Answere to me, by demanding a Question or two, to wit, 1. *Whether if a godly person remaine a member of a falsely constituted Church, and so consequently (in that respect) of a false Christ, whether in visible worship be not separate from the true Christ?*

Answ. That I may not delude neither him, nor my selfe, by answering to obscure and ambiguous termes, I would know (by some that understand his speech) what he meaneth by a *falsely constituted Church*: or else give me leave to explaine the termes my selfe. There be but two things intrinsically necessary to the constitution of any thing, & so of a Church, to wit, a fit matter, and a fit forme. The matter of a Church are visible Saints, Professors of the faith of Christ.⁴⁴ The forme, is an holy Covenant, or Agreement,

⁴⁴ Compare Cotton's "Way of the Churches of Christ in New England," Chapter 1: Proposition 1.; "That the Church which Christ in his Gospell hath instituted, and to which he hath committed the keys of his kingdom, the power of binding or loosing, the tables and seals of the Covenant, the Officers and censures of his Church, the administration of all his publick Worship and Ordinances, is, *Cœrus fidelium*, a Communion of Saints, a Combination of

faithfull godly men, meeting for that end, by common and joyns consent, into one Congregation; which is commonly called a *particular visible Church*. For the Church to which Christ committed the power of binding and loosing, was a company of such (as whereof Peter was one,) Believers professing that faith on Christ, whereon (as on a rock) the Church is built, Mat. 16. 18, 19. and such as unto whom Peter, or any brother offended, might (in due order) tell the



(either explicite or implicite) to joyne together in one Congregation, to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Administration of his holy Ordinances.⁴ Now if in stead offence which any brother had given him, & perfidit in, *Mat.* 18. 17. And the Church of Corintb, to which the Apostles commendeth the calling out of the Incestuous *Corintianas*, (*t Cor.* 5.) was such a Church, of which the Apostle saith, *They were Saints by calling, sanctified by Jesus Christ*, *1 Cor.* 1. 2. and all of them, even the whole Church, did meet together every Lords day, in one place, for the Administration of the holy Ordinances of God, to publick Edification, *1 Cor.* 14. 23. & 16. 1. 2. Whiche frequent meeting every Lords day in one place, to such ends, cannot possibly be comparable to any Diocesan, Provinciall, or Nationall Assembly."

This important Treatise was "Published according to Order," at London, in the year 1645, with an "Epistle to the Reader" prefxed, signed with the initials N. H. and I. H. It was part of the movement against the Presbyterians occasioned by the misunderstanding relative to the meaning of the adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant" by the Westminster Assembly. The Presbyterians held this proceeding to be equivalent to the adoption of their entire church polity, which the Independents would not admit. In 1644, Goodwin and Nye, two leaders of the Independents, published Cotton's "Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," with a preface in which they say: "As for our selves, we are yet, neither afraid nor ashamed to make profession (in the midle of all the high waves on both fides dashing on us) that the substance of this brief Extract from the Author's longer Discourse, is

that very *Middle-Way* (which in our Apologie we did in the generall intimate and intend) between that which is called *Brownisme*, and the *Presbyterian-governement*, as it is practized." The Editors of the "Way of the Churches," say in their "Epistle to the Reader," "Least any shoud imagine, that everything in the *Keyes* doth not fit all the wards in this Treatise to a hair, wee will here insert Mr. Cottons own words, in his Letter coming from him in *New England* to our hands in the very nick of time, while this Epistle lay under the Preffe; viz. "If you think the Draught of CHURCH DISCIPLINE, which was sent over in your Ship, varietie from that of the POWER OF THE KEYES, sent over the yeare after; you may have some occasion so to conceive from some difference of Expression in LOGICAL TERMES, but not a jot in any DOCTRINE OF DIVINITY, or CHURCH-PRACTISE." So Mr. Cotton in his Letter to Mr. R. W." Baylie's "Diffusive from the Errors of the Time," was one of the replies to Cotton's treatise.

⁴ "For the joining of faithfull Christians into the fellowship and estate of a Church, we finde not in Scripture that God hath done it in any other way than by entering all of them together, (as one Man) into an holy Covenant with himselfe, To take the Lord (as the head of his Church) for their God, and to give up themselves to him, to be his Church and people; which imployeth their submitting of themselves to him, and one to another in his feare; and their walking in professed subjection to all his holy Ordinances: their cleaving one to an-

of visible Saints professing the Name of Christ, there be a company of prophane persons, Idolaters, Hereticks, that shall covenant, or agree together to joyne in a Congregation to worship Idolls, and to build up one another in Heresie, and Apostacie; This is *Ecclesia Malignantium*, a false constituted Church: And consequently, the Head of this Church is a false Christ, and every member of this Church, who joyneth [73] with them in this way, is in visible worship, separate from the true Christ.

In this fence, I would answer to the Examiners first Question, Affirmatively.

His second Question then is, *Whether it be not absolutely necessary to a godly persons uniting with the true Church, (that is, with Christ in true Christian worship) that he see and bewaile, and absolutely come out from that former false Church, or Christ, and his Ministry, Worship, &c. before he can be united to the true Israel?*

Answ. I would readily answer this Question, Affirmatively

other, as fellow members of the same body, in brotherly love and holy watchfulness unto mutual edification in Christ Jesus."

"Neither is there any colour to conceive this way of entering into Church estate by Covenant, to be peculiar to the Pedagogy of the Old Testament; for it is evident by the light of nature, that all civil Relations are founded in Covenant. For, to passe by naturall Relations between Parents and Children, and violent Relations between Conquerors and Captives; there is no other way given whereby a people (*sui Juris*) free from naturall and compulsory engagements, can be united or combined together in the visible, to stand by mutual Relation, fellow members of the same body, but

only by mutuall Covenant; as appearth between husband and wife in the family, Magistrates and subjects in the Common-wealth, fellow Citizens in the same Citie." "The Way of the Churches," pp. 2, 4.

This passage is important not only as illustrating Cotton's ecclesiastical opinions, but also for the light it casts upon his action with reference to Williams. Attaching as he did so much significance to the Covenant relation, he could but view Williams's wilful separation from the Salem Church as an act in violation of the first principles on which society was founded. It is clear that this proceeding of Williams was the turning point in Cotton's relations with him. See *ante*, pp. 30, 39, 46.

also, unlesse there be a fallacy in the latter absolutely. For his Question is, *Whether it be not absolutely necessary unto uniting with a true Church, to see, and bewaile, and come out absolutely from the false Church, or Christ, or Ministry, or Worship, &c.* This latter absolutely, if it imply no more then coming out altogether from all that separateth from true Christ, I grant it absolutely: but if he meane coming out from every thing of theirs, say from every good gift, yea from every error amongst them, which doth not separate from Christ, and then I deny that it is absolutely necessary, either to see or bewaile all, or in that fence absolutely to come out of all.

His similitudes brought to the contrary, may perswade a selfe-pleasing fancy, but will not convince nor satisfie any solid Judgement. Might not the *Israelite*s that came out of *Egypt*, borrow Jewells of silver and gold from the *Egyptians*, yea and carry up also a mixed multitude of People, and yet build a Tabernacle to the Lord in the Wildernes? *Exod.* 12. 35. to 38. Might not the *Jewes* come out of *Babel*, and accept from all the People, where they had sojourned, vessells of silver, and gold, with goods and beasts, and other precious things, and yet build a Temple at *Hierusalem*? *Ezra* 1. 4, 5, 6. May not a soule be married to Christ, and yet his former husband (his corrupt nature) not be so absolutely dead, as the husband of a wife must be, before shee can be lawfully married to another?

The Graft cut off from one tree, may be engrafted to another: and yet carry forth his old leaves with him. The kingdome of Christ that is cut off from the Romane Monarchy, may yet for a time have some entercourse with the Romane Monarchy.

The *Corintbians*, though united with Christ, and washed

from [74] their former Idolatry, as well as from other sinnes: yet still were defiled with communion in Idols Temples, and with Fornication.

The *Theſſalonians* turned from their former Idolls, to serve the living and true God: yet they had ſome amonſt them, that walked inordinately after their entrance into Church-estate, as well as before, 2 *Theſſ. 3. 6.* Besides, for further anſwer to his ſimilitudes, the Examiner may remember, that though *Israel* came out of *Egypt* locally, before they could ſacrifice to God in the Wildernes, yet in their hearts and ſoules they were ſtill for *Ægypt*, Exod. 14. 11, 12. Yea and for *Ægyptian* Idolls, *A&E. 7. 39. Ezek. 20. 7, 8.* which is more then we doe allow to our ſelvess.⁴⁴

TO CHAP. XIV.

HIS 14th Chapter is ſpent in Examining and anſwering a Reaſon that I gave of my ſecond Anſwer to his Objection, which was propounded and cleared in the former Chapter. The Reaſon was this. *The Churcb of Cbrisf received many thouſand Jewes, who beleeved on the Name of Cbrisf,*

⁴⁴ The ground taken by Cotton in the preceding diſcource is precisely identiſical with the poſition all along held by the leaders of the Independent party in England, who ſpared no pains to remove from themſelves the reproach of narrow ſectarianiſm which had been incurred by the early Separatiſts. Thus in "An Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honorable Houſes of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpſon, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge," the admiſſion is freely made that even in the worſt times of the Churcb of England, "Multitudes of the aſſemblyes and parochial congregations thereof were the true churcbes and body of Cbrisf, and the miniftry a true miniftry; and that they both had held and would hold communion with them at the churcbes of Christ." See Hetherington's Hisſ. of the Westminſter Aſſembliey, p. 159. The "Quereſies" of Williams, to which allusion is made on page 2, ante, were called forth by this "Apologetical Narration."

albough they were still zealous of the Law, and saw not the beggarly emptinesse of Moses his Ceremonies, Act. 21. 20. And the Apostle Paul directeth the Romans to receive such unto them, as were weake in the faith, and saw not their liberty from the servile difference of Meats and Dayes, but still lay under the bondage of the Law. Tea be wised them to receive such upon this ground, because Christ had received them, Rom. 14. 1. to 6. And lest it shoud be objected, there was not the like danger of lying under bondage to Moses, as to Antichrist; It was said, that even the bondage under Moses was such, as that if it were continued in, after instruction and conviction, it would separate them from Christ, (Gal. 5. 2.) and bondage under Antichrist could doe no more.

For Anfwer hereto, the Examiner would have two things to be carefully minded :

1. That the Ordinances of Moses were sometimes the Ordinances of God: and when they were to vanishe, they were to be taken away with solemnity. The Ordinances of Antichrist were the Inventions of Satan, and from first to last never to be received, nor submitted to, no not for a moment.

75] 2. He would have the difference of times to be observed, (which saith he, M^r. Cotton himselfe confesseth) after instruction and conviction, Moses Law was deadly, and would separate from Christ. Therefore there was a time, when they were not deadly, and did not separate from Christ, to wit, untill Moses was honorably fallen asleep, &c. To apply then, Paul observed a vow, and the Ceremonies of it, Circumcized Timothy, &c. May therefore a Messenger of Christ now (as Paul) goe to Massie, Pray to Saints, performe Pennance, keepe Christmass, and other Popish Feasts, and Fasfts? &c.

Reply. 1. I never heard or read till now, that Paul ever went to Massie, Prayed to Saints, kept Christmass, or the

like: nor did I ever imagine, that any ingenuous minde would thinke that ever it came into my heart to plead for such things now, or for the retaining of any Popish Rite at all. But the wit and lip of man being let loose, and left to it selfe, may inferre *quodlibet ex quolibet*.

If it be said, his Parenthesis (as *Paul*) had reference onely to a Messenger of Christ, (as *Paul*) not to any such like act of *Paul*, then his Argument is no more conclusive then a *Baculo ad Angulum*. What colour were there that any man now should plead *Pauls* example, to doe that now, which *Paul* never did, nor any thing like it?

Reply. 2. The Examiner requireth two things here to be carefully minded: In answer whereto, I desire but one thing to be carefully minded: to wit, to what end, I alledged the ignorance of the *Jewes* in the Primitive times, and the indulgence of the Christian Churches, for receiving them into Church-fellowship, notwithstanding such ignorance: And then see, if it doe not inferre that which I brought it for.

If in the Primitive times, the ignorance of the *Jewes* in many waighty Points of Religion, and some of them fundamentall, did not hinder their receiving into Christian Church-fellowship, nor disanull their Church-estate (who so received them) then it is not so necessary to Church-fellowship, as that without it a Church cannot be, that the Members admitted thereunto, shoud all of them see and exprely bewaile, all the pollutions, wherewith they have been defiled in their former Church-fellowship, Ministery, Worshipp, Government, &c. But the former is true, as hath been opened from *Act 21. 20. Rom. 14. 1. to 6. Gal. 5. 2.* To which [76] may be added, *Act 15. 5. with 24.* Where it appeareth some of the members of the Church and of the Synod, held forth such Doctrine and Worshipp, touching the necessitie of Circum-

cision, and observation of the Law, as tended to the subversion of soules: and yet neither their membership, nor the Estate of the Church was thereby disanulled.

The Conclusion is evident from these Premises.

It is a vaine thing now to alledge, that the Ordinances of Moses were sometimes the Ordinances of God, but so the inventions of Antichrist never were: and there is not the like honourable respect and tenderneſſe to be shewed to the inventions of Antichrist, as to the vanishing Ordinances of God; For though this were of weight, in case I had pleaded for the practise of any Antichristian invention, (which indeed was farre off, both from my meaning and words:) yet in this case it is wholly impertinent. For that which I pleaded for, was, the capablenesse of godly Persons of Church-estate, notwithstanding their ignorance of some weighty and necessary truths: and the soundnesse of their Church-estate, notwithstanding their admision and toleration of such ignorant members: unto which the difference of the severall objects of their ignorance maketh nothing at all. For the ignorance of weighty Truths (of one sort as well as another) necessary to salvation, is a sinne of like destructive nature, of what kinde soever the Truths be.

Besides, there is no need, either for the clearing of our members, or of our Church-estate, to plead for the capablenesse of godly persons of Church-estate, notwithstanding their ignorance of the Truths of God, whether more or leſſe necessary: For wee doe not look at it as any point of ignorance at all, for our members to believe, they may partake in the gifts of the godly Ministers in *England*, in hearing the word of God from them. I know the Examiner is vehement and peremptory in pleading for an *absolute necessitie, that godly persons before they doe joyne to a true Church, and Ministry,*

should see and bewaile so much as may amount to cut off the soule from a false Church, (whether Nationall, Parishionall, or any other fally constituted Church) Ministery, Worship, and Government of it.

But the voyce of God is not alwayes in every vehement and mightie winde, that rendeth mountaines, and breaketh rockes, 1 Kings 19. 11. The Examiner is not ignorant, that we have seene, [77] and bewailed Nationall, and Parishionall Church-estate, and have cut off our selves (by the Grace of Christ) from any invented worship or government of it: yea and from such entrance into the Ministery or Administration of it, as was corrupt either by Nationall or Parishionall Relation. But this is that which he requireth further, (He I say, but not the Lord) that wee shoud cut off our selves from hearing the Ministery of the Parishes in *England*, as being the Ministery of a Nationall, or Parishionall Church, whereof both the Church-estate is fally constituted, and all the Ministery, Worship, and Government thereof false also.

But two things here may suffice to answer this clamour.

1. Suppose all this were true, that he clamoureth, but prooveth not: yet this would I faine learne, wherein lieth the sinne of our members in hearing the godly Ministers in the Parishes? *Why*, saith he, *in that they doe not cut off themselves from a false Ministery.*

Now by the Ministery may be meant, either the office of the Ministery, or the exercise of the office, and gifts of the Ministery. From the office, and from the exercise of the office, our members have cut off themselves, partly by submitting themselves to a Ministery of their own Election in these Churches,⁴⁵ and partly by submitting themselves to no

⁴⁵ Under date of Aug. 27, 1630, Winthrop writes: "We, of the congregation, kept a part, and chose Mr. Wilton our teacher, and Mr. Newell as elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands, but

act of their Ministeriall office in *England*, but what an Indian, or any Pagan might partake in, who yet is cut off farre enough from fellowship in their office.

Cutting off, is an act of disunion, and somewhat more violent, and keene, then (it may be) the Examiner requireth. The finne he chargeth upon our members in hearing such Ministers, is union, or communion with them. And what shall wee say, is there no Communion between our members, and the Ministers in *England*, whom they doe heare?

Yes doubtlesse: For 1. There is a naturall communion between the speaker and the hearer: the one giveth coun-
with this protestation by all, that it was
only as a signe of election and confirmation,
not of any intent that Mr. Wilfon
should renounce his ministry he received
in *England*." Winthrop, 1, 33. Wilfon
was subsequently made Pastor and Cotton
was elected Teacher in his place,
"and ordained by imposition of the
hands of the presbytery, in this manner:
First, he was chosen by all the congrega-
tion testifying their consent by erection
of hands. Then Mr. Wilfon, the pastor,
demanded of him, if he did accept
of that call. He paused, and then spake
to this effect: that howsoever he knew
himself unworthy and insufficient for
that place; yet, having observed all the
passages of God's providence, (which
he reckoned up in particular) in calling
him to it, he could not but accept it.
Then the pastor and the two elders laid
their hands upon his head, and the pastor
prayed, and then, taking off their hands,
laid them on again, and, speaking to him
by his name, they did thenceforth af-
sign him to the said office, in the name
of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the
charge of the congregation, and did
thereby (as by a signe from God) induce

him with the gifts fit for his office; and
lastly did bless him. Then the neighbor-
ing ministers, who were present, did
(at the pastor's motion) give him the
right hands of fellowship, and the pastor
made a stipulation between him and the
congregation." Winthrop, 1, 114. For
Cotton's view of the nature of the Power
derived from Ordination, see, *infra*, pp.
82-83. Compare also, "The Way of the
Churches of Christ," p. 39, and "The
Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," p.
12.

According to Baylie, in his "Dissua-
tive," Cotton, so long as he remained in
England did not go beyond Cartwright
and the Presbyterians, but the reasons
which Cotton himself gave the Boston
Church for not baptizing his infant at
sea—"1. Because they had no settled
congregation then; 2. because a minister
hath no power to give the seals but
in his own congregation," (Winthrop,
1, 110,) proves that he had adopted the
congregational theory before "he did
taste of the New-English air." Dissua-
tive, p. 56. Cotton meets this charge in
his "Way of Congregational Churches
Cleared," p. 25.

sell, or instruction, or reprove, or comfort; and the other receiveth it.

2. There is a morall Communion between a Teacher and a learner: and doublefesse, our hearers may learne many precious Truths from them.

3. What shall I say further; Is there not also a spirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer, when the Preacher communicateth many spirituall and heavenly Points, and the Hearer receiveth them?

78] *Answ.* 1. Some would say; It is not necessary, that this should breed a spirituall Communion between the Preacher and the Hearer: No more then it maketh a Mathematicall Communion between a reader of the Mathematicks, and the learner of some Principles, or Conclusions from him.

But 2. I would rather answere otherwise. For suppose a member of our Churches, though a visibile Saint here, yet indeed an hypocrite, should occasionally heare a Minister in *England*, and by the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in his Ministry, be effectually brought home to Christ, and by lively faith united to him: Here is a spirituall Relation and Communion wrought between them: the one is a spirituall Father; the other a naturall Sonne in the Faith.

Neverthelesse, this I would say, that this spirituall Communion is not between this Hearer and this Minister, in respect of his Office, but in respect of his Gifts, and of the Power of the Spirit of Grace breathing in the dispensation of his Gifts. In which respect this Communion doth not amount to Church-communion: Any stranger might enjoy as much. Any Pagan *Corinthians* might come in, and heare in the Church of *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25. and reape a blessing thereby, who yet had not Ecclesiastical Communion with their Office. Also the Prophet *Jeremy* heard the false

Prophet *Hanani*, yea (and in some fence) said Amen to his Prophecy: yet had he no communion with his false Office, *Jer. 28. 1. to 6.* If he still urge, that we have not yet cut off our selves from communion, no not with the false office of the Ministry of *England*, and with their false Church-estate, in as much as we still retaine their Baptisme, wherein we subjeceted our selves to their Office, and to their Church-estate, (which are both false :) as well as their Worship, and their Government.

Answ. This is a further Objection, then he held forth whilest he continued with us: and therefore no marvell, if my Letter spake nothing to it. But therefore let me now propound another Point, which may suffice both for an Answer to this Objection, as also for a second Answer unto the former clamour, and exception against hearing of the godly Ministers in *England*. The Point is this; That I doe not see, how the Examiner can justifie his grievous charge, that their Church is falsly constituted, (whether Nationall or Parifhionall) [79] and accordingly, that their Ministry, Worship, and Government are all of them false. Foure things he chargeth to be false. 1. Their Church constitution, Parifhionall and Nationall. 2. Their Ministers. 3. Their Worship. 4. Their Government.

For the first, touching the constitution of their Parifhionall Churches, let it be confidered what I said before, that where there be visible Saints, there is the true matter of the Church; and where there is a Covenant or Agreement (whether explicite or implicite) to assemble together in one Congregation, to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the Ordinances of Christ, there is (for substance) the true forme of a Church. And where there is the true matter and true forme of a Church, it cannot be truely said, that such a

Church is falsly constituted. For there being but two causes of which a thing is constituted, matter and forme: whatsoever hath true matter, and true forme, is truly constituted.

Against this, what he will accept I doe not know: and therefore know not how to prevent him with a fit and just defence. But by others, two things are wont to be objected.

Object. 1. From the matter of the Church. *Object.* 2. From the efficient cause of the Church.

From the matter of the Church, it is objected, that there be not onely visible Saints in the English Parishes, but with them are mingled many ignorant, and scandalous persons, drunkards, whoremongers, despisers and persecutors of them that are good. Prophane swearers, that have not so much as a forme of godlineffe, but doe utterly deny and deride the power of it.

Answe. This is indeed just matter of mourning and lamentation to all the Saints of Christ, and may be also (in due order) just warrant of some degree of separation from them, as from a corrupt Church. It cannot but offend and deeply grieve the spirit of a Christian, to sit downe at the Lords Table, and drinke the blood of the Lord with such, who may be ready the next day to spill the blood of sincere Communicants as Puritan Round-Heads.

But whilst the Saints of Christ continue amongst them, the mixt fellowship of ignorant and prophane persons doth not evacuate or dilanull their Church-estate. The store of malignant and noysome humours in the body, yea the deadneffe and rottenneffe of many members in the body, though they may make the body [80] an unsound and corrupt body, yet they doe not make the body no body. When the Prophet *Isaiah* complained, that in the Church of *Judah*, from the foale of the foote to the crowne of the head, there was no

soundnesse in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores; yet whilst there was a Remnant amongst them of faithfull Saints, they were not yet no Church, they were not yet *Sodome* and *Gomorrbæ*, though but for that Remnant, they had been as *Sodome*, and like unto *Gomorrbæ*, Isa. 1. 6. with 9. Say not though *Hierusalem* and *Judab* were at that time degenerate, yet they had been at first an holy Nation, a faithfull Citie, (Isa. 1. 21) and so had a true constitution: which the Churches of *England* never had.

For 1. I might answer, That though in regard of some prime members, *Hierusalem* was counted a faithfull Citie, and the Nation Holy, by Priviledge of their Covenant: yet for the body of the people, *Hierusalem* was alwayes a City of the provocation of Gods wrath from the day they built it, *Jer. 32. 31, 32.* And for the body of the Nation, *Moses* charged them; *Yee have always been rebellious against the Lord, since the day that I knew you,* Deut. 9. 7. 24. And *Stephen protesteth against them; They had always wont to resist the Holy Ghost, they and their fathers,* Act. 7. 51.

2. I doe not understand, but that (according to Scripture) those corruptions which doe not destroy a Church constituted, the same do not destroy the constitution of a Church. The Church is constituted, and continued by the same Grace.

3. The estate of the Churches of *England* was not corrupt in their first constitution. *Baronius* himselfe confesseth, that *England received the Gospel ten yeares before Rome*;* and

* I am at los to conjecture on what ground Cotton makes this statement; since Baronius strongly advocates the theory that St. Peter preached the Gospel in Rome in the seconde year of Claudio, in the year 44 of our era. See Annals Ecclesiastici, Tome 1, p. 296. Baronius further afferts, on the authority of Sim-

eon Metaphratis, that Peter preached in Britain in the year 58. do. p. 508. The common Protestant opinion is that he did not visit Rome until the last year of his life.

Cæsar Baronius was born in 1538. He pursued his studies at Rome, in 1593 became Superior of the Congregation of

that from the Ministry of the Apostles, and Apostolick men : who doubtlesse constituted the *English* Churches:) not after the manner of *Rome*, (which was then Pagan;) but after the Apostolick Rules and Patternes.

This may suffice touching the matter of the *English* Churches. Now touching the seconde thing objected, which was from the efficient cause of their constitution ; It is said, they were gathered not by the preaching of the Gospel, (by which Churches shoule be planted and constituted) but by the Proclamation of Princes.

Answ. 1. The efficient cause of a Church is a thing without the [81] Church, and so no essential cause of the constitution of a Church. The Proclamation of King *Hezekiah*, and of the Princes, drew on multitudes of Apostate *Israelites* to the Communion of the Church at *Hierusalem*, and many of them in much pollution : yet neither their own pollution, nor the Proclamation of the King and Princes did evacuate their Church-estate, but encourage them rather in their Church-worke, 2 *Cron.* 30. 5. to 9. and verses 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20. It was no pollution to the seconde Temple at *Hierusalem*, that it was built by the encouragement of the Proclamation of *Cyrus*, Ezra 1.

Answ. 2. Wheresoever there be visible Saints gathered into a Church, they were first gathered by the Ministry of the Gospel. For Proclamations cannot make Saints, but the word of the Gospel onely. If any hypocrites, or time-servers,

the Oratory, and in 1596 was raised to the rank of Cardinal by Pope Clement VIII. He was afterwards made librarian to the Vatican, and died from excessive study in 1607. His great work, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, designed especially as a vindication of the Church of Rome against the Magdeburg Centuriators, was

published at Rome, 1588-93, the result of thirty years study. The chief value of this colosal work arises from the use made of some material in the Vatican Library inaccessible to the Protestant scholar. The references in this note are to the Lucca edition, 1738-1787, in thirty-eight volumes folio.

doe for feare joyne themselves with the Saints in such a worke; though their fellowship may weaken and blemish the worke, yet it doth not destroy it.

Thus much touching the constitution of their Parishionall Churches: Now touching their Nationall Constitution, it standeth partly in their Nationall Officers, Archbishops, Bishops, and their Servitors; partly, in their Nationall Synods and convocations; and partly also in their Nationall Ecclesiastical Courts.

The Examiner is not ignorant, that (by the Grace of Christ) we have withdrawn our selves, and our Churches also from this Nationall Constitution, and from all Communion with them.⁴⁷

If it be said; But we still keepe Communion with the Parish-Churches, (in hearing the Word there) who doe subject themselves to these Nationall Officers, Convocations, and Courts.

Answ. 1. Though the Parish-Churches were lately subject to them, it was a burden (which as they did discerne the

⁴⁷ "In the New Testament, it is not a new observation that we never read of any national church, nor of any national officers given to them by Christ. In the old Testament indeed, we reade of a National Church. All the tribes of *Israel* were three times a yeer to appere before the Lord in *Jerusalem*, *Deut.* 16. 16. And he appointed them there an high Priest of the whole nation, and certain solemne sacrifices by him to be administered, *Lev.* 16. 1 to 29. and with him other Priests and Elders, and Judges, to whom all appeals shoule be brought; and who shoule judge all difficult and transcendent cases, *Deut.* 17. 8 to 11. but wee reade of no such national church or high Priest, or court in the new Testa-
tament; and yet we willingly grant that particular churches of equal power, may in some cases appointed by Christ, meet together by themselves, or by their messengers in Synod, and may perform sundry acts of power there, as hath been shewed above. But the officers themselves, and all the Brethren members of the Synod; yes, and the Synods themselves, and all the power they put forth, they are all of them *primarily* given to the severall churches of particular Congregations, either as the first subject in whom they are resident, or as the first object about whom they are converstant, and for whose sake they are gathered and employed." Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, pp. 31, 32.

iniquitie thereof) they groaned under, and now by the mightie Power of the gracious Redemption of the Lord Jesuſ, they have ſhaken off through the helpe of the Honorable, and Religious Prudence and Piety of the Parliament.⁴⁴

2. Though those Nationall Courts in their Officers, did for many yeares tread downe the Parish-Churches, yet they did not extinguiſh their Church-estate. The Text is plaine, *The Gentiles* (that is, men of Gentile-like prophanenesſe, and malignitie, and [82] iniquitie, who had the keeping of the Church-Courts) *they did tread downe the Holy City*, Rev. 11.

2. Tread downe (I ſay) but not destroy the Holy City. Yea though the Tranſlation reade it, *They did tread it downe*, or, *Tread it under-foote*: yet the Originall word may be rendred ſomewhat more mildly: *natiōnāt*, may expreſſe their walking upon it, or elſe the Peripateticks were a more violent ſeet, then either their Principles, or their Practiſe did declare them.

I come now to ſpeak of the ſecond Falſhood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *Engliſh* Churches, which was the falſenesſe of their Miniftrey: which wherein it lyeth, he ſhould have done well to have told us: *for himſelfe diſliketh it in me, to wander in Generalities*.

But for our ſelves, we are farre from that ſupercilious, and Pharisaicall arrogancy, as to condemne ſuch for falſe Minifters, in whom we finde Truth of Godlinesſe, Truth of Minifteriall Gifts, Truth of Election and acceptance unto Office

⁴⁴ In September, 1642, Parliament paſſed an ordiſcne providing that the epife- jurisdiction ſhould ceafe after fourteen months. In June, 1643, the ordiſcne for calling the Westminſter Aſſem- bly was paſſed, which recited that the government of the Church "by Arch- bishops, biſhops, and other eccllesiſtical officers, is evil and juſtly offendive and

burdenſome to the kingdom, and an im- pediment to reformation and religion." In Auguft, 1645, a further ordiſcne was paſſed authorizing the Presbyterian form of national church government. Cotton had perhaps not heard of this laſt ſtep when he wrote the above ſentence in praiſe of the Parliament.

by true Churches of Christ, Truth of sound, & wholesome, and soule-saving Doctrine, and Truth of holy and exemplary Conversation. And such are all the Ministers whom either the members of our Churches affect to Heare, or our Churches doe allow them ordinarily for to Heare. And when I say Truth, I speake it not in opposition to Eminency, (for sundry of them excell in Eminency of sundry of these things:) but in opposition to the falsehood which the Examiner objecteth.

I know not what exception lyeth against their Ministry, to argue it of falsehood, (save what hath been excepted and answered already touching the constitution of their Parishionall Churches) but only the falsoenesse of the Power from whence their Ministry is derived, to wit, from Episcopall Ordination.

But the Examiner is much mistaken, if he take us to conceive, or if he himselfe conceive, that the Power of the Ministeriall calling is derived from Ordination, whether Episcopall or Presbyteriall, or Congregationall.⁴⁴ The Power of the Ministeriall Calling is derived chiefly from Christ, furnishing

⁴⁴ "For the Rite of Ordination we doe not looke at it as any Essential Part of our vocation to the Ministry, no more than Coronation is an Essential Part of the Office of the King." Bloody Tenent Walked, p. 8.

"For the Church hath not *absolute* power to chuse whom they list, but *ministeriall* power onely, to chuse whom Christ hath chosen, hath gisted and fitted for them."

"As the Authoritie of the *Pastor*, and other *Elders*, is not from the Church, but from Christ; so neither is their Office and Authoritie from the Bishop, nor from the *Presbiteries*, nor from the *Classe*

of Presbiteries; If therefore that were a just impediment, why the Church should not lay hands upon their elect *Pastors* or *Elders*, because neither their office, nor their Authoritie, is from the Church, their neither may the *Bishop*, nor the *Presbiteries*, nor the *Classe* lay their hands upon them; because their office and Authoritie is no more (nor so much) from them, as from the Church; nor by this Argument might the *Apostles* themselves (if they were present) ordaine Officers, because neither the *Office* nor the *Authority* is from the *Apostles*, but from *Christ* onely." Way of the Churches, pp. 39 and 44.

his servants with Gifts fit for the Calling; and nextly, from the Church, (or Congregation) who observing such whom the Lord hath gifted, doe elect and call them forth to come and helpe them. For from that ground, *Paul* and *Silas* (to use the words of the Text) assuredly gathered that [83] the Lord had called them to preach the Gospel to the *Macedonians*, *Acts 16. 9, 10.* to wit, because a man of *Macedonia* (in the name of the rest) had called unto them to come into *Macedonia* and helpe them. Pastor and flock are Relatives: and Relatives doe consist *ex mutua alterius affectione*, Their mutual acceptance of one another is the essential cause of their Relation. Ordination is but *adjunctum consummans* (as D^r. *Ames*^o rightly observeth) of the Ministers Calling:

^o William Ames was born in 1576, and educated at Christ College, Cambridge. Rather than wear the surplice he resigned his fellowship, and soon after, to escape the indignation of Bancroft, fled to Holland, where he was chosen minister of the English Church at the Hague. He was about to be chosen Professor of Divinity at Leyden, but the English Ambassador, at the instigation of Archbishop Abbott, prevented the execution of the plan. He was afterwards elected by the States of Friesland to a similar office at the University of Franeker. After filling the office with great distinction for twelve years, he was led by failing health to accept an invitation to the English Church at Rotterdam. Here he died, Nov. 14, 1633, being just on the point of embarking for New England. The following year his wife and children embarked, carrying with them his valuable library. His Latin works were published at Amsterdam in 1658, in five volumes. See Brook's Lives, 2, 405. Neal, 1, pp. 436, 578.

In the preparation of his "Fresh Suit against Ceremonies," Ames was assisted by Hooker, at that time staying in Rotterdam, who said "If a scholar were well studied in Dr. Athes his *Medulla Theologie*, and *Cajus Conscientie*, so as to understand them thoroughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the Scriptures) a good divine, though he had no more books in the world." Cotton cherished an equally exalted opinion of him, declaring when on his death bed, that it contributed unto his readiness to be gone "when he considered the saints, whose company and communion he was going unto; particularly Perkins, Ames, Prolton, Hildersham, Dod, and others, which had been peculiarly dear unto himself." See Life of Cotton, in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*.

Ames exerted much influence on Cotton's ecclesiastical opinions, as appears from the following passage in the reply of the latter to the charge of Baylie, *ante*, p. 77, note 45: "But when he saith, 'I minded no more than the Old Non-

the Relation between him and the people was truly wrought before. As the Coronation of the Prince is not that which giveth the Essency of his Princely Calling, but Election by the People, (where the Government is Elective:) so neither is Ordination that which giveth Essence to the Ministers Calling, but the peoples choice. Ordination by Imposition of Episcopall hands, doth pollute an Adjunct of the Ministers calling, (to wit, the solemnitie of it:) but doth not destroy the essence, or nature of it, much lesse derive a false power to it, to evacuate the true.

The third Falshood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *English* Parish-Churches, is the False worship. And truly whatsoeuer hath been corrupt in their worship, whether Prescript, Liturgies, or undue Honour put upon Saints or Angels, in denominating Dayes or Temples after them, and luch times and places dedicated to God, which he never required, and what ever other Devices of like nature, I had rather bewaile before the Lord, then excuse or justifie before men.

Conformity whilst I abode in *England*,¹ he must be more privie to my mind than any mortall man is, and than myself to, to make it good. There were some scores of godly perfons in *Baynes* in *Lancashire*, (whereof some are there still, and some here, and some are fallen asleep) who can witnessse, that we entered into a Covenant with the Lord, and one with another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his Worship; which though it was defelitive, yet it was more than the Old Non-Conformity. Besides I had then learned of Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Baynes* (and soon after of Dr. *Ameri*) that the Ministers of Christ, and the Keyes of the Government of his Church are given to each particular Congregational Church respectively: and there-

fore neither Ministers nor Congregations subject to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Cathedral Churches, no, nor of Clasical Assemblies neither, but by voluntary consoilation, and that in some cases; and those falling short of that which is properly called subjection to their Jurisdiction." Way of the Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 20. Compare statement to the same effect on p. 21. "The particular visible Church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Baynes*, and Dr. *Ameri*." These passages are important as showing who were the authors of that "Order of the Churches" with which the name of Cotton came afterwards to be so closely associated.

And I shoulde thinke it had been a better service to God, and his Churches, and a greater comfort to the soule of the Examiner, to have expressed particularly what the false worship had been which he beareth witnesse against, and to have cleared wherein their falsehood lyeth, rather then to have rested in condemning all false worships in overly Generalities: and especially at such a time when (through mercy) the State is set upon Reformation, and calleth for light. He that shall cry out against all false wayes in Travels by Land, and exclaime against all Rocks and Quick-sands by Sea, and give no particular notice where they lye, what helpe doth he afford to the carefull Passenger or Mariner, either by Land or Sea? When Trumpets give such an uncertain and obscure sound, who shall prepare themselves to avoyd the danger on the one hand, or on the other?

But for the present, two things would I say, touching the point in hand.

84] 1. It is not every corruption in worship, that denominateth the worship to be false worship. It was doubtlesse a corrupt worship to Sacrifice in the High Places: yet God doth not call it a false worship, but rather seemeth to accept it, as done to himselfe, *2 Kings 33. 17.* False worship (to speake properly) is as good as no worship: nor is the God of Truth wont to accept that which is false. But there may be many aberrations in the manner of worship, when yet both the object of the worship is the true God, and the substance of the worship is true worship: and God may accept that which is Truth, from an honest and true heart, and passe by many aberrations, (as infirmities) and not reject all as falsities.

The second thing I would say, is, That whatsoever we have discerned to be corrupt, or irregular in the worship of

God, we have beleaved it to be our duty, both to judge our selves for it before the Lord, and to reforme it in our practice. If any shall discover any further failings in our worship, or in the worship of thofe Churches whom wee communicate with, I hope the Lord will not shut our eyes against the light.

The fourth Falshood, which the Examiner chargeth upon the *English-Churches*, is falſe Government, which if he meane the Government of the Parishes, by the godly Ministers, (with whom our people communicate in hearing;) that Government is chiefly administred by the publick Preaching of the Gofpel, and by private admonition. Which he that shall challenge it to be a falſe Government, (though it may be defective in ſome Directions;) verily the ſpirit of Truth and Grace in thofe who are governed and led by it, from darkneſſe to light, from the Power of Satan unto God, from a ſtate of Grace to aſſured hopes of eternall Glory in Christ Jefus, will convince all ſuch slanderous tongues of notorious falſhood.

But if he ſpeak of the Nationall-Church-Government, we muſt confeſſe the Truth, there indeed Truth is fallen, and falſhood hath prevailed much. For whether we ſpeak of the Hands, by which that Government hath been administred, or of the Eccleſiaſtacall Courts, in which it is administred, or of the Rule, according to which it is administred, or of the End for which it is administred; All of them are forsaken of Truth, and can challenge no warrant of Truth but falſly.

85] The Hands by which that Government hath been administred, are the Prelacy, and their Servitors: who though they have of late challenged Institution by Divine Right: yet the claime is utterly falſe. The Divine Authoritie hath none to attend upon Rule and Government in the Church,

but such as are inferior to Pastors and Teachers in Congre-gations, who labour in Word and Doctrine, 1 Tim. 5. 17. Diocefain Bishops in the dayes of the Gofpel, are like Kings in *I'rael* in the dayes of the Judges, both of them wanting Divine Institution.⁵¹ What a pity is it, that some men eminent for Piety and Preaching, and others for learning and moderation, shoud come to be (as *Jothams Parable speaketh*) advanced over their Brethren, and so leave their fatnesse, and sweetnesse, and fruitfulnesse, wherewith they had been wont to serve both God and man?

The Ecclesiastical Courts in which that Government is administred, are like the Courts of the High Priests, and Pharisees, which *Solomon* (by a spirit of Prophecy) styleth, *Dens of Lyons, Mountaines of Leopards*, (Cant. 4. 8.) And those who have had to doe with them, have found them Markets of the sinnes of the People, the Cages of uncleanness, the forgers of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery.

The Rule according to which the Government is administred, is not the word of God, (which alone is able to make a Church-Governour perfect to every good worke, 2 Tim. 1. 17.) but in stead thereof the Canon Law, the Decretalls of Antichrist, and most unworthily and fallly applied to the Government of the Spouse of Christ.

The End also for which this Government now for many yeares hath beene administred, hath not onely beene contrary

⁵¹ "Now the Apostle acknowledgeth no *Acta of Rule*, nor any *Elders* (or *Bishops*) that doe *Rule*, as worthy of greater honour than such *Elders as labour in Word and Doctrine*, 1 Tim. 5. 17. It is therefore apparently contradictory to the instructions given by *Paul* in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, to set up any eminent or transcendent Bishop in the

Church, in respect of *Rule*, or exercise of office of more honour and power, than pertaineth to all the Ministers of the Word. So that evident it is, that neither *Ordination*, nor *Jurisdiction* (which are both of them *Acta of Rule*) are to be fetched from transcendent Bishops, but pertaine indifferently to all the *Priesters*." Way of the Churches, pp. 48, 49.

to the ends of Church-Government, (which is to order the people in holinesse, and love) but even contrary to the end of Civill Government, which is the punishment of evill doers, and the praise of them that doe well, *Rom. 9. 4.* But here the very edge of Government, hath been bent and sharpened chiefly against holinesse and puritie. No malefactors so hainous, (drunkards, whoremongers, prophanes persons) but might expect the approach of Courts with lesse terror, and passe from under their hands, with more favourable Censure then the sheepe of Christ, and the faithfull Shepheards of them.^{86]} This Government therefore being admistristed with false Hands, on false Thrones, by false Rules, for false Ends, I blame not the Examiner, though he style it, (as justly he may) a false Government.

But to conclude therefore this 14th Chapter, the Examiner telleth us, *He believeth it is absolutely necessary to see and bewaile so much as may amount to cut off the soule from a false Church, (whether Nationall, or Parishionall, or any other fassly constituted Church) together with the Ministry, Worship, and Government of it.*

Now in that which hath been spoken, wee have given account, how farre we have seene any of these things to be false in the Churches, which his charge hath respect unto. And so farre as we have seene, the Lord knoweth how farre

⁸⁵ Cotton Mather, referring to the time when the puruivants of the High Commission Court were searching for Cotton, says: "Application was made, in the meantime, to the Earl of Dorset, for the fulfilment of his old engagement with Mr. Cotton; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would often wish, 'Oh that I could meet with Cotton,' rendered all his intercessions both ineffectual and unseasonable. Hereupon that noble person sent word unto him, that if he had been guilty of *drunkennes*, or *uncleannes*, or any such *leffer fault*, he could have obtained his pardon; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of non-conformity, and puritanism, the crime was unpardonable; and therefore, said he, 'you must fly for your safety.' Life of John Cotton, in Mather's Mag-nalia.

we have bewailed, and cut off our selves from the Fellowship thereof. Yea not onely from the fellowship of that which we discerne to be false, but also from what we have discerned to be unfound and corrupt. If we doe not discerne all those things to be false, which he accounteth to be false; we have given the grounds thereof from the Scriptures of Truth. If we doe not follow him in all his imaginations, it is no marvell: The sheepe of Christ know the voyce of their Shephard: a stranger they will not follow. His charges of Falshood upon Churches have been vehement, and peremptory, and in a manner sorbonicall, without any touch of Scripture-grounds, as if he had learned not onely from them, but from the Conclave of Antichrist, to obtrude upon the Churches of Christ, his unwritten imaginations and censorious Decrees, as the very Oracles of God.

Proceed we now therefore to his next Chapter, wherein there is some mention of some Texts of Scripture, and let us see, whether they will speake more to his purpose in that which remaineth.

TO C H A P . X V .

THe Texts of Scripture which M^r. Williams alledged, not to prove the Churches of *England* to be false in their Constitution, Ministry, Worship, Government, (for to that end he alledged no Scriptures at all) but to urge upon us a separation from them, (even from hearing in their Assemblies) were three, *Isai. 52. [87] 11. 2 Cor. 6. 17. Rev. 18. 4.* Whereof I certified him in my Letter, *That two of them* (to wit, the first and last) *made nothing to his purpose. For that of Isaiah, and the other of the Revelation speake of locall sepa-*

ration, which be knew we had made : and which neither be, nor indeed our selves appreended to be sufficient, though sufficient to answer, in part, the literall fence of those Places.

To which he answereith, *That he could not well have beleaved that M^r. Cotton, or any other, would have made that coming forth of Babel in the Antitype, Rev. 18. 4. to be locall and materiall also. For what Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world, in the Antitype could now be called Babel? If any, then surely Babel it selfe properly so called: but there we finde a true Church of Jesus Christ, 1 Pet. 5.* Secondly, *If Babel be locall now, whence Gods People are called, then must there be a locall Judea, a Land of Canaan also, into which they are called, &c.*

Reply. If the Examiner had been pleased to have read M^r. Brightman⁵³ on Rev. 18. 4. He might finde, I was not the first that Interpreted, either that place in Isaiah, or this in Revelation, of a locall separation. For as there was in old Babel, sundry of Gods Israel, Inhabitants then when the Medes and Persians were about to take it, and destroy it: so will there be in new Babel sundry of Gods chosen people still inhabiting amongst them, even then when the ten Kings will be ready to take the Citie, and to burne it with fire. Unto whom as the Lord sent his Angels to hasten Lot out of Sodome, when he was about to destroy it: so he hath sent and will send the voyce of his Messengers to hasten his people,

⁵³ Rev. Thomas Brightman, fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Hawnes, in Bedfordshire. Though a subscriber to the "Book of Discipline," he was no friend to separation. He died Aug. 24, 1607, aged fifty-one. His most renowned work was the Commentary on the "Revelation of St. John," referred to by Cotton, in

which he makes Cranmer the angel having power over the fire, Thomas Cromwell the angel which came out of the temple of heaven, and Cecil the angel of the waters. When Episcopacy was abolished, the book attracted great notice, as this event was viewed as a fulfilment of its predictions. Brightman had interpreted Antichrist to mean the Prelacy.

as well out of new *Babel*, (as he did out of old) before that sodaine destruction fall upon the City, and upon them in it.

He need not make it so strange, *What Civill State, or Nation, or Countrey in the world shall be called Babel now?* As if the very expresse letter of the Text had not clearly enough deciphered the City of *Rome*, the great City, which in *Jobns* time reigned over the Kings of the Earth, to be the *Babylon*, (the Antitype of *Babel* in *Chaldea*,) whom the Lord would destroy, and out of whom he calleth his people to depart? Why doth he tell us of *Babel* in *Peter*, (*Babel* in *Chaldea*,) as if the Type and the Antitype were literally the same place? Or as if he were altogether a stranger in the Booke of the *Revelation*, and never understood *Rome* to be called *Babylon*?

88] But secondly, saith he, *If Babel be locall now, then there must be a locall Judea, a Land of Canaan also, into which the Saints are called.*

Reply. 1. It followeth not for the Angel that calleth them out of *Babel*, doth not call them into *Judea*, or *Canaan*. There is no mention of such places in that call at all.

2. There be, and will be, when *Rome* is destroyed, and before it be destroyed, vifible Churches of Christ, (as was *Judea* and *Canaan* of old;) into which these Saints who are called to depart out of *Rome*, have a just calling to come and to joyne themselves. For it is out of the Temple, and out of the Temple open in Heaven, out of which those Angels come, who powre out the vials of Gods wrath, both upon the Antichristian State, and upon the Citie of *Babylon* it selfe, *Rev. 15. 5, 6. with Chap. 16. 19.*

The Examiner need not here aske, *Whether M^r. Cotton can satisfie bis own soule, or the soules of other men, in making a locall departure from old England to New, as if tberein we*

bad obeyed that voyce of the Angel, Come out of Babylon my People, partake not of her finnes, &c.

For 1. I doe not count *England*, literally to be *Babel*, nor mystically neither. I beleeve a man may live and dye in *England*, and yet obey that Commandement of the Angel in all the parts of it. Some other godly men might finde more favour and exemption from Babylonish corruptions in the midst of *England*, then I was suffered to doe, without locall departure.

2. Though I thinke, that in those words, *Come out of Babel my People*, locall separation be intended, yet when he addeth, *Left yee be partakers of her finnes*, I beleeve, spirituall separation is much more required: and locall separation as a meanes the better to attaine that end of spirituall separation from partaking in her finnes.

Which may also cleare the meaning of the Text, and the fraud of the Examiner. For the words are not (as he alledgeth them) *Come out of Babel, my people, Partake not of her finnes*: For so the latter part might be an *ēx̄yōc*, or explanation of the former: Coming out of *Babel*, might be all one with, *Partake not of her finnes*. But the words of the Text be, *Come out of her; my People, that yee be not partaker of her finnes*. Which plainly argueth, that coming out [89] of *Babel* locally, is a meanes to prevent partaking in her finnes spirituall.

It is true which he faith, *The Lord Jesus bath broken downe all difference of Places, (Joh. 4.) and all difference of Persons, Acts 10.* To wit, in regard of ceremoniall pollution, or ceremoniall holinesse. But if he thinke, there is no difference between one Citie, or Countrey more then another in morall pollutions of Idolatry, & superstition, unrighteousnesse and uncleannessse, he maketh himselfe a greater stranger both

to the Word and to the world, then I did thinke he had been.

The two causes of Gods Indignation against *England*, which he suggesteth, are worthy due consideration and attention. I would rather say Amen to them, then weaken the weight of them. Onely I shoulde so affent to the latter, as not to moove for a Toleration of all Dissenters, Dissenters in Fundamentalls, and that out of obstinacy against conscience, and Seducers, to the perdition of soules, and to the disturbance of Civill and Church-Peace : but onely of such Dissenters, as vary either in matters of lesse weight, or of fundamental, yet not out of wilfull obstinacy, but out of tendernesse of Conscience.³⁴

³⁴ The distinction which Cotton here draws is between passive nonconformity, and active opposition. The former was illustrated in his own career of twenty years as a minister of the Church of England. Thus in the "Bloody Tenant Waſhed," he says, speaking of the persecutions of the Puritans under James the First, "For by the Rule of the Word, thofe (whom they called) Puritans ought not to have been persecuted, no though they had been erroneous in their way, which they were not. For though they conſented not to the State-Government of the Church; yet neither did they tumultuously and editioſively reſiſt it," p. 137. The latter, in Cotton's view, was illustrated in the career of Williams at Salem. Thus he says: "He holdeth forth an erroneous Doctrine, or Practice, in an Arrogant and Impetuous way, not onely who carrieth it in a reviling and daring way (which is a diſturbance to Civill Peace: But also he who refuſeth to ſubjeſt his ſpirit to the ſpirit of the Prophets in a holy Church of Christ

(contrary to 1 Cor. 14. 32,) which is a diſturbance to the peace of the Church. And withall, he that shall oppoſe ſuch as diſent from his Errors, either by violent means (as the Circumcellions did by Clubbs, and Swords,) and as Zedekiah did Micajah with Fills, (1 Kings, 22. 24.) or by censorious reproaches, and by rejeſting Communion with them even before conviction or admonition, all theſe are wayes of Arrogance, and Impetuouerneſſe, and tend to the diſturbance either of civill, or Church Peace, or of both." Bloody Tenant Waſhed, p. 14.

Cotton held that even "Dissenters in Fundamentalls" might be tolerated, if their diſent was passive. "And for the Civill State, we know no ground they have to perſecute Jewes, or Turkes, or other Pagans for cauſe of Religion, though they all erre in Fundamentalls. No nor would I exempt Anti-Chriftians neither, from Toleration, notwithstanding their Fundamental Errors, unleſſe after conviction they ſill continue to ſeduce ſimplē soules into their damnable,

As for the Controversie, which the Examiner faith, *He bath with me, Whether false worship be not onely locall, but a spirituall Guilt, and not onely a Guilt, but also an Habit, &c.*

I doe acknowledge no such controversie between us: I wholly consent with him in the Point. Onely I doe not beleeve, all that to be either a Guilt, or an Habit of false worship, which he doth imagine: but in his termes I accord.

TO C H A P. XVI.

HIs 16th Chapter is taken up in examining and Answering the Exposition which my Letter gave of that Text formerly alledged, 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16. Of which I said.

That the Text onely requireth Coming out from Idolaters in the fellowship of their Idolatry: No Marriages were they to make with them: No Feasts were they to hold with them in the Idolls Temples: No intimate Familiaritie were they to main-taine with them: Nor any Fellowship [90] were they to keepe with them in the unfruitfull workes of Darknesse.

And this is all which the place requireth. But what maketh all this to prove, that we may not receive such Persons to Church-fellowship as our selves confess to be godly, and who doe

and pernicious Heresies." Bloody Tenant Washed. p. 33. See, also, p. 83. Compare Cotton's statement, ante, pp. 36, 37. The reason for the interference of the civil magistrate is thus stated: "Nor doth the Civil State in such punishment attend so much, how to procure the conversion of Hereticks, or Apostates, or such like scandalous turbulent offenders: as how to prevent the perversion of their sounder people (*Gan-*

gram amveas, ne pars finiera trahatur; or else to worke the subversion of such, as doe subvert both truth and peace," do. p. 20.

Cotton argued that the peculiar views of Williams respecting the Churches, "as all dissipated and rooted out from the fear of the Earth by the Apostacy of Antichrist," rendered it the more incumbent on the civil power to interfere and prevent the spread of error. do. p. 69.

professedly bewaile and renounce all knowne sinne, and would renounce more, if they knew more? Although, it may be, they doe not see the utmost skirts of all that pollution they have sometimes been defiled with: as the Patriarchs saw not the pollution of their Polygamy?

In Anfwer to this, the Examiner telleth us;

1. *That if the regenerate and repenting English did come thus farre forth, it would availe much to the sanctifying of the Name of the Lord Jesus, to the pacifying of his jealousy, &c.*

Reply. But this is no Anfwer at all, unlesse he did assume that our repenting English did not come thus farre forth. Therefore he giveth for another Answer, (that which is indeed but a part of this) *That according to the former Distinction of Godly Persons, who possibly may live in ungodly practises (especially of false worship:) And then according to M^r. Cottons Interpretation, they come not forth.*

Reply. That former Distinction hath been considered above and weighed; but hath been found impertinent to the case in hand. The Examiner neither doth, nor ever will make it good, That the Godly persons amongst us doe live in any ungodly practises of false worship. Nor doe they take his Affirmation (without any mention of Scripture-ground) for a sufficient conviction.

But (faith he) if there be any voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses against these sinnes, they are not then of ignorance, but negligence, and spirituall hardneffe against the wayes of Gods feare, Ifai. 63. &c.

Reply. *If there be (faith he) any voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses against these sinnes, &c.* If there be: he doth not say, there be. And if there were, how doth it appeare, that their voyce is the voyce of Christ, or that they be the witnesses of Christ, in whose mouths this voyce is? How

easie had it been for the Examiner, if he himselfe knew any such voyce of Christ in the mouths of any of his witnesses against these sinnes of false worship which our godly Brethren doe live in, to have alledged the same, and the word of Christ, which might have been witness to the voyce of those witnesses? But these Ifs and Overtures will neither convince nor edifie others, nor justify himselfe.

91] Besides, what if there be some witnesses have testified against the false worship in *England*, and against the hearing of those Ministers, by reason of that false worship? What if the Godly Persons (of whom he speaketh) here, are not so ignorant, but they know what those witnesses have said, nor so negligent, but they have duly considered and pondered the same, and weighing it in the Balance of the Scriptures, have found it too light? Is it spirituall hardnesse, to choose, rather to feare God, and his Word, then to feare the false Interpretations and Applications of it by the spirit of Error? The word of the Lord wee reverence and acknowledge, *Come not yee to Gilgall, neither goe yee up to Bethaven:* But doe wee come to *Gilgall*, or goe up to *Bethaven*, when we heare the word of the Lord from the godly Preachers in the Parishes in *England*? If such alledgements of Scripture may goe for the voyce of Christ in the mouths of his witnesses, we shall soone forget the Counfell of *Solomon*; *Cease my Sonne to heare the Instruction, which causeth to erre from the words of knowledge*, Pro. 19. 27. The Apostle *John* hath long since directed us, *Hereby know we the spirit of Truth, and the spirit of Error: He that knoweth God, beareth us, (that is, the Apostles, and those that preach their Doctrine;) He that is not of God, beareth us not*, 1 Joh. 4. 6.

But for another Answer, the Examiner proceedeth; Moreover, (faith he) *the Question is not of the utmost skirts of*

pollution, but the substance of a true and false Bed of worship, Cant. 1. 16. *In respect of coming out of the false, before the entrance into the true.*

Reply. I said indeed, that Godly Persons repenting of all knowne finnes, may be received to Church-fellowship, althoough they doe not see the utmost skirts of all the pollution they have sometimes beene defiled with.

But, saith he, the Question is not of utmost skirts, but of the substance of a true and false Bed of worship.

What he meaneth by the *Bed of worship*, I know not. If he meane the Church, to be the *Bed of worship*, and the Churches of *England* to be false Churches, that Point hath been cleared above: that no voyce of Christ hath declared the Churches of *England* to be false Churches.

But yet further, the Examiner answereth, *That if there were but filthineſſe in the skirts of an Harlot, he beleeveth M'. Cotton would [92] not receive an Harlot, infamous for corporall whoredome, without found repentance, not onely for her actuall whoredomes, but also for her whorish speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations. And why should there be a greater strictneſſe for the skirts of common whoredome, then for spirituall and soule-whoredome, againſt the chaſtitie of Gods worship?*

Reply. 1. There may be the greater strictneſſe about the skirts of bodily whoredome, not because it is a greater finne, but because it is more easily discernable, and convinceable by ordinary light.

2. Where any speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations of spirituall whoredome shall discover themselves, we beleieve there ought to be as great strictneſſe about them, as about the like whorish appearances of bodily whoredome. But when will the Examiner discover to us, what those spirituall whorish gestures or speeches be, wherein we shew leſſe strictneſſe, then the chaſtitie of Gods holy worship requireth?

Touching the Polygamy of the Fathers, the Examiner answereth, three wayes.

1. By observing what great finnes Godly Persons may be subject to, notwithstanding Godlineſſe in the Roote.

Wee consent to that, especially in case of ignorance.

2. He demandeth, If any godly Persons shoud now beleevē, and maintaine, that be ought to have many wifes, and accordingly did so Practise, whether M^r. Cotton would receive such a godly Perſon to Church-fellowſhip?

Rea whether the Church of the Jewes (if they had ſeen the evill of it) would ever have received ſuch a Proſelyte into fellowship with them?

The ſame Anſwers may ſerve to both the Demands.

1. Neither would I receive them, nor doe I thinke the Church of the Jewes would, in caſe the finne had appeared ſo plaine and palpable, as by the light of the Gopel it hath been discovered.

2. This is not the caſe in hand, what my ſelfe or a Church ought to doe, about receiving a member living in knowne finne: but when he that liveth in no knowne finne, (none knowne either to himſelfe, or the Church) whether the Church if they receive him, doth thereby evacuate their Church-eſtate? Or whether the Church, and every member thereof, be ſo farre bound to a diſtinct knowledge of all appearances of ſpirituall whoredome, that if they [93] be ignorant of any one or two of them, they are utterly uncapable of Church-eſtate?

For a third Anſwer to the caſe of Polygamy, the Examiner demandeth what was this perſonall finne of Polygamy in the godly Patriarchs? Was it any matter of Gods worſhip, any joyning with a falſe Church, Miniftary, Worſhip, Government, from whence they were to come, before they could conſtitute his true Church, and enjoy his Worſhip, Miniftary, Government, &c.

Reply. 1. Polygamy if it had been knowne to be as great a sinne amongst the *Israelites*, as it is now knowne to be by the Doctrine of the Lord Jesuſ, it is of ſo hainous a nature now, that every godly perfon guilty of it, muſt come out of it, before he could lawfully be received into a pure Church of Christ.

2. If a Church were now ignorant of ſuch a knowne cafe, and ſhould in their ignorance admit fundry members living in that ſinne, into fellowship with them, though it would much defile them: yet I doe not conceive it would evacuate their Church-estate.

3. The Examiner will never proove, that the estate of the Churches in *England* is false, their Miniftrey false, nor their worship false. And as for their Epifcopall Government, he is not ignorant we have come out of it both in place and heart. Neither will he ever be able to prove, that any of our Churches partake in the communion of any ſuch knowne ſinne, either in Church-estate, Worship, Miniftrey, Government, as Polygamy is.

But touching that place in 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16. urged by the Examiner, that I might give a further Anſwer then before, I addē further in my Letter; *That the place was wrested beſides the Apoſtles ſope, when M'. Williams argued from it, That ſuch Perſons are not fit matter for Church-fellowſhip, as are defiled with any remnānts of Antichriſtian Pollution: nor ſuch Churches any more to be counted Churches, as doe receive ſuch amonſt them: For were there not at that time in the Church of Corinth, ſuch as partaked with Idolatres in their Idols Temples? And was not this the touching of an uncleane thing? And did this ſinne rejeſt members from Church-fellowſhip before Conviction? Or did it evacuate their Church-estate for not caſting out ſuch members?*

To this Argument the Examiner giveth (as he calleth it) an Answer in four Paragraphs: whereof the three former hold not forth so much as the face, or shape, or colour of an Answer. [94] For in the first Paragraph, saith he, *This was indeed an uncleane thing, from whibh God calleth his People: and M^r. Cotton confesseth, that after conviction any member obstinate in these uncleane Touches ought to be rejected.*

But what is this to the Argument?

Againe, in the next Paragraph, *Upon the same ground, (saith he) that one obstinate Person ought to be rejected out of Church-state, upon the same ground, if a greater company or a Church were obstinate in such uncleane touches, ought every sound Christian Church to reject them, and every sound member to withdraw from them.*

But is this any more to the Argument?

In the third Paragraph, *Further (saith he) it is cleare, that if such uncleane Touches obstinately maintained, (as M^r. Cotton professeth and practiseth) be a ground of a rejection of a Person in a Church, questionlesse, it is a ground of rejection when such Persons are to joyne unto the Church. And if obstinacy in the whole Church after Conviction be a ground for such a Churches rejection, questionlesse, such a Church or number of persons obstinate in such evills, cannot congregate, nor become a true constituted Church of Christ.*

But still the Argument is where it was, not onely unshaken, but untouched. Neither is the Text in 2 Cor. 16. any whit at all cleared by these discourses, to argue them to be no true constituted Churches who live in such uncleane touches, without conviction, without obstinacy. For the Text speaketh nothing of obstinacy, nor conviction: but onely implieth, that such uncleane Touches were found in the Church of Corinth, and yet that did not evacuate their Church-estate.

His last Paragraph holdeth forth some more shape of an Answer, but as little substance.

The greatest Question here (faith he) would be whether the Corinthians in their first Constitution were separate or no from such Idols Temples? And this M^r. Cotton neithir doth nor can deny; A Churcb-estate being a state of marriage unto Christ Jesus; and so Paul professedly saith, He had espoused them as a chaste Virgin unto Christ, 2 Cor. 11.

Reply. 1. To put any substance into this Answer, or any force pertinent to the cause in hand, it must be no great Question, but cleare out of Question, that these *Corinthians* in their first constitution were cleane, and absolutely separate from such Idolls Temples: [95] and that not onely locally, but in their soule and judgement, minde and heart, utterly cut off from such uncleane Touches, so that they both undoubtedly saw the evill thereof, and from their hearts abhorred it, and forsooke it. For all these Acts of coming off in a way of separation from the Churches of *England*, he requireth from us, as absolutely necessary to enter into a true Church-estate. Now if be tbinke that M^r. Cotton (to use his words) neither doth nor can deny, that in their first constitution they were thus separate from Idolls Temples.

I must professe, though not to him, yet to all that love and seek the Truth without prejudice, that I both can and doe deny it, that in their first constitution, they were locally separate from Idolls Temples, it is likely enough; or else I suppose the Apostle would have admonished them thereof in their first Plantation. But that in their minde and judgement, they saw the evill thereof, and did in heart and soule bewaile it, and confess it before the Apostle and their Brethren, and so enter into solemnne Covenant, exprefly against it; this is altogether incredible to me: For would not the Apos-

tle then (out of his faithfulness) have reproved them as well for their Apostacy, as for their Fellowship in Idolatry? Would he not as well have rebuked the prevarication of their Covenant, as their pollution of their communion with Pagans?

What though a Church-estate be a state of Marriage unto Jefus Christ? May not a married Spouse of Christ be ignorant of some part of her marriage-dutie towards him? And what though *Paul* professe, *He had espoused them as a chaste Virgin to Jefus Christ?* May not he call them a chaste Virgin, who had seene and bewailed their former worship of Idolls, though they neither bewailed nor saw the evill of feasting with their neighbours in Idolls Temples?

Reply. 2. Though the Examiner make it a great Question whether a Church can be truely constituted, that in her first constitution is not separate from all uncleane Touches, so as both to see them, and come out of them, howsoever they may fall into such sinnes afterwards: yet I looke at it as an ungrounded distinction, to require more purity to the being of a Church in her first constitution, then is necessary to the being of it, after it is constituted. I should think the longer a Church hath enjoyed communion with the Lord Jefus Christ, the more shew ought to grow both in [96] knowledge and purity. Where more hath been given, the more will be required of the Lord. Yea I conceive it more agreeable to the word of Truth, that God will sooner separate from a Church constituted, for their whorish pollutions, then deny them Church-estate for the like pollutions in their first constitution. The people of *Israel* were not constituted a Nationall Church till the Lord gave them Nationall Ordinances, and Nationall Officers, and entered them together into a Nationall Covenant, *Ezod.* 19. 5, 6. Their Church-

estate before, was rather domesticall, dispersed into severall Families. When they were thus constituted a Nationall Church; and afterwards fell into an Idolatrous crime, the Lord directed *Moyses* to breake the Tables of his Covenant between them, and did also separate his Tabernacle from them, till, upon their repentance he renewed communion with them, *Exod. 32. 19.* with *Exod. 33. 3. to 7.* But yet the like Idolatry (if not worse) being found in the same People, when they dwelt in Ægypt, it did not hinder the Lord from accepting them unto a Nationall Constitution of a Church-estate.

TO CHAP. XVII. XVIII. XIX.

HIs 17, 18, 19. Chapters are taken up, in Examining and Answering my Answers to his second Objection, which he made to prove, a *Necessitie lying upon Godly men, before they can be fit matter for Church fellowship, to see, bewaile, repent, and come out of false Churches, Ministry, Worshipe, and Government.* To prove which, his first Objection, or Argument was taken from *Isaiah 52. 11. 2 Cor. 6. 14, 15, 16.* Whereto we have returned a Reply in the former Chapters. His second Objection was taken from the *Confession made by Johns Disciples, and the Profelyte Gentiles before admission into Church-fellowship, Mat. 3. 6. Act. 19. 18.* Whence he gathered, *That Christian Churches are constituted of such members, as make open and plaine confession of their sinnes: and if any sinnes be to be confessed and lamented (Jewishe or Paganish) then Antichristian drunkennesse and whoredome much more, &c. Yea every sipping of the Whores Cup.*

To which Objection of his, (to passe by all verball velitations, for I love not to take up time about words) the substance of my Answer was two-fold.

97] 1. That it was not necessary to the Admision of members, that they shoud see, and bewaile the sinfullnesse of every sipping of the whores Cup, (as he called it) (thoug the Whores cup doe more intoxicate the minde, then the drunkards Cup doth the Body:) because bodily drunkennesse and whoredome are such notorious and grosse finnes, that no man having true Repentance in him, cannot but be convinced of the sinfullness of them, and of the necessarie of repentance of them in particular, if he doe remember them. But the whores Cup being a mystery of Iniquitie, the sinfullnesse of every sipping of it, is nothing so evident and notorious, as that every repentant soule doth at first discerne it. And therefore as the 3000 Converts, Act 3. 37. to 47. were admitted into the first Christian Church, upon the Profession of their repentance of the murther of Christ, though they neirer saw nor confessed all the superstitious leavenings wherewith the Pharisees had bewitched them: so here, &c. Yea and the Disciples of John (whom he instanceth in) though they did confess their finnes, (the Publicans theirs, the Souldiers theirs, the People theirs:) to wit, the notorious finnes incident to their callings: yet it doth not appearre that they confessed their Pharisaicall pollutions. And the Gentiles in Act. 19. 18. 19. Though they confessed their curious Arts, and burnt their conjuring Bookes, yet it doth not appearre, that they confessed all their deeds.

Wherunto the Examiner returneth a two-fold Answer.

1. That spirituall whoredome and drunkennesse is not indeed so easily discerned as corporall: but yet not the lesse sinfull, but infinitely transcendent, as much as spirituall soberity exceedeth corporall; and the bed of the most High God exceedeth the beds of men, who are but dust and ashes.

Reply. 1. It is an exorbitant Hyperbole to make every passage of spirituall whoredome, a sinne infinitely transcendent above bodily whoredome. For spirituall whoredome is not infinite in the act of it, but only in respect of the object of it, to wit, in respect of the infinite God, against whom it is committed. And is not bodily whoredome infinite in that respect also? Can a man defile himselfe with bodily whoredome, and not sinne against the infinite God? What faith *Joseph?* Gen. 39. 9.

2. What if spirituall whoredome (though lesse evident) be more sinfull then bodily? The nature of true Evangelicall Repantance standeth not in seeing and bewailing every sinne, no nor alwayes of the greatest, but of those which are most evident and notorious. [98] A Christian man may more safely omit repentance of greater sins, if unknowne, then of lesse finnes knowne. I suppose the *Israelites* were guiltie of many Idolatries, and superstitions in the dayes of *Samuel*, yet their repentance was chiefly fastned upon their asking of a King, of which they were then principally convinced, 1 Sam. 12. 19. And such Repentance was then accepted of the Lord, and of *Samuel*, ver. 22, 23.

The very truth is, the ground and roote of the Examiners Error in this case is, That he maketh Church-Covenant to be no better then a Covenant of workes: whereas indeed if Church-Covenant be not a branch of the Covenant of grace, the Churches of Christ are not built upon Christ. In a Covenant of workes, all finnes must be avoyed: or if not avoyded, yet repented of exprely, and the greatest finnes most. But in Evangelicall Repentance, God dealeth not with us after our finnes, nor rewardeth us according to our Iniquities, Pfal. 103. 10. The Grace of Christ is not given either to his Church, or to any Christian, upon the perfection of our

Repentance, nor upon our Repentance of our greatest finnes, in the greatest measure. But if the heart be truly humbled for any knowne sinne, as sinne, though the sinne knowne be often lesse hainous, then others unknowne, yet God accepteth his own worke, and putteth away all sinne in the acknowledgement of one. Yea in finnes that be knowne, the compunction of the heart is sometimes more expressed for the occasions and inducements of the sinne, which are lesse hainous; then for the greater finnes, which are more grievous and dangerous. Solomon in his solemine Repentance in the Booke of *Ecclesiastes*, doth more expressly bewaile his entanglement with lewd women, *Ecclef.* 7. 27, 28. then all his Idolatrous Temples and worship, which were erected, and maintained at his charge. By the Examiners Doctrine, *Solomon* had never been received, and restored to the Church upon that Repentance.

His second Answer is, *That though the converted Jewes did not see all the leavenings of the Pharisées, yet they mourned for killing of Christ, and embraced him in his Worship, Ministry, Government, &c. and thereupon necessarily followeth a withdrawinge from the Church, Ministry, and Worship of the false Christ, &c.*

Reply. This answer doth not reach the defence of his cause, to wit, *That it is absolutely necessary unto Church-fellowship, to see and bewaile, [99] not onely actuall whoredomes, but also whorish speeches, gestures, appearances, provocations.* Yet here he granteth, that the converted Jewes did not see all the leavenings of the Pharisées, which yet were such, as in the end of that Paragraph, he impliyeth they had detained them under a false Christ.

But whereas he saith, that *they by embracing Christ, in his Worship and Ministry, there necessarily followed a withdraw-*

drawing from the Church, Ministry, and worship of the false Christ.

It may truely be Replyed, 1. That he will not grant us that liberty, that upon our embracing of Christ in his worship & Ministry, there necessarily followeth our withdrawing from the Church, Ministry, and Worship, wherein we had been formerly polluted in any sort. Is not this to detaine the glorious Truth of our Lord Jesus with respect of Persons?

2. It is evident by the Story, that some of thofe members of the Church of Hierusalem, who had been leavened by the feet of the Pbarisees, they did neither fee nor bewaile, nor did come off from fellowship with the Pbarisees in their Ministry, and false Doctrine, which taught the necessitie of Circumcision, and of the whole Law of Moses to justification and salvation, *Act 15. 1. 5.*

As for the confession of finne by the Disciples unto *John Baptist*, (Mat. 3.) and by the Gentiles unto *Paul*, (Act. 19.) though it be not said, that the one sort confessed their Pharisical pollutions, nor the other all their Deeds:

Yet (saith he) if both these confess their notorious finnes, (as Mr. Cotton confesseth) why not as well their notorious finnes against God, their Idolatries, superstitions, worships, &c? Surely throughout the whole Scripture, the matters of God, and his worship, are first and most tenderly handled, &c.

Answ. It is not true, that the matters of Gods worship and defects there, are alwayes most tenderly acknowledged throughout the Confessions of the Saints in Scripture. *Solomon* in his Repentance was most sparing of confession of his Idolatrous Temples and worships. And the People in *Samuel* did more repent of asking a King, then of all their other finnes, and yet their Idolatries were then flagrant, *1 Sam. 12 9, 10, 11.* Besides, wee never reade of such deepe Humili-

ation of *David* for carrying the Arke after the manner of the *Philistims*, as of his bodily adultery with *Bathshebab*, and murder of *Uriah*.

100] The substance of my other Answere to his former Objection, which was to prove *a necessarie lying upon godly men to see and bewaile their pollutions in a former Church-fellowship, before they can be fit matter for a new.*

It was to this purpose, that we have not been wanting (through the guidance of the grace of Christ) to performe that which he pleadeth for, so farre as God hath called us to it : the which I expressed in my Letter in two particulars :

1. *That the body of our members doe in generall Professe, that the reason of their coming over to us, was that they might be freed from the bondage of humane Inventions and Ordinances, under which as their soule groaned there, so they have professed their sorrow, so farre as through ignorance or infirmitie they have been defiled there.*

2. *That in our daily meetings, especially in the times of our solemne Humiliations, we doe generally all of us bewaile all our former Pollutions, wherewith we have defiled our selves, and the holy things of God in our former Administrations, and Communions : the which we have rather chosen to doe, then to talke of, and therefore doe marvell, that he shoulde so resolutely renounce us for that, which he knew not whether we had neglected or no, and before he had admonished us of our sinfullnesse in such neglect, if it had been found amongst us.*

Whereto his Answer is ; *That we make no mention, what such Inventions, and Ordinances, what such Administrations and Communions were, which we confessed and bewailed.*

Reply. And yet lest he should too much wound his own Conscience with such a generall charge, he acknowledgeth ; *That we have borne witnesse against Bishops, and Ceremonies,*

and doe constitute onely particular and Independent Churches, and have therefore so farre at least seene the evill of a Nationall Church. But I dare say further, that his own Conscience beareth him witnesse, that we have witnesseed also both in Profession and Practise, against Prescript Liturgies and mixt Communions, both in Church-fellowship, and at the Lords Table.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The views of Cotton respecting "Prescript Liturgies" and "mixt Communions" are fully presented in his "Way of the Churches," pp. 70 to 80. His objections to a Liturgy were also presented in a treatise published three years earlier, entitled "A Modest and Cleare Answier to Mr. Ball's Discourse of Set forme of Prayer. Set forth in a most Seafonable time, when this Kingdome is now in Consultation about Matters of that Nature, and so many godly Long after the Resolution in that Point. Written by the Reverend and Learned John Cotton, B. D. and Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in new England. London 1642." This discourse, the occasion of which is fully explained by Cotton on page 23, *ante*, was published without his knowledge. It forms a quarto of forty-nine pages, and examines nine reasons which Mr. Ball had advanced on the other side. But the change in Cotton's opinions on the question of the use of forms of prayer had taken place some time before the publication of this discourse, since we find him writing under date of October, 1635, to the members of his former parish in England: "That if I were with them again, I durst not take that liberty which sometimes I had done: I durst not joyne in Book-prayers: I durst not now partake in the Sacraments with

you: to wit, in respect of those scandalous persons who communicate with you, and will settle upon their Lees with the more security by your fellowship with them." See "Way of Cong. Churches Cleared," pp. 28, 29.

The language of Williams (*ante*, p. 23,) leaves us to infer that Cotton, so long as he remained in England, had felt no scruple about using the Book of Common Prayer. This is confirmed by Cotton's own account, from which it is clear that his difficulty, so far as the mode of worship was concerned, related to ceremonies. In reply to the statement of Baylie, that while in England he had only fallen off from the practice of some of the ceremonies; Cotton says, "For (by the grace of Christ) I forbore all the Ceremonies alike at once, many years before I left England. The first grounds which prevailed with me to forbear one Ceremony, would not allow me to practise any. The grounds I well remember were two: 1. The signification and efficacy put upon them in the Preface to the Book of Common-prayer: 'That they were neither dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull minde of man to the remembrance of his duty to God, by some notable and speciall signification, whereby he may be edified,' or words to the like purpose.

"The second was the limitation of

What hath been then wanting to us? *That we doe not fully see the evill of a Nationall Churche*; How doth he make it to appeare?

By two Instances.

By our conftant Practife in ftil joining with fuch Churches and Miniftry in the Ordinances of the Word and Prayer: and

Church-power (even of the highest Apoftolicall Commission) to the obfervation of the Commandments of Chrift, Math. 28. 20, which made it appear to me utterly unlawfull for any Church-power to enjoyn the obfervation of indifferent Ceremonies which Chrift had not commanded. And all the Ceremonies were alike deftitute of the commandment of Chrift, though they had been indifferent otherwife, which indeed others have jufly pleaded they were not.

"What favor I was offered not onely for conuincion, but for preferment, if I would have conformed to any one of the Ceremonies, I forbear to mention. Yea, when I was fuspended upon fpeciall complaint made againft me to the King that then was, and all hope of reftitution denied to me, without yielding to fome conformity, at leaft in one Ceremony at leaft once; yet the good hand of the Lord fo kept me, that I durft not buy my Miniftry fo dear: And yet (I thank the Lord) my Miniftry was dearer to me (to speak the leaft) than any preferment.

"When the Bishop of Lincoln-Dioceſe (Dr. Mountaigne) offered me liberty upon once kneeling at Sacrament with him the next Lord-day after: or elſe to give fome reafon, why (in confeience I could not) unto Dr. Davenant (then Bishop-elect of Salifbury, who was at

that time preſent with him at Wefminster) I durft not accept his offer of liberty upon once kneeling; but I gave them this reafon for my excuse and defence, *Cultus non institutus, non eſt acceptus: Genitrix in percepcione Eucariftie eſt cultus non institutus; Ergo, non eſt acceptus.*" Way of Cong. Churches, pp. 18, 19.

The change in Cotton's sentiments was received with diſapprobation by many of his friends in England. In 1637 a number of Puritan minifters wrote over to the minifters of New England complaining that they had embraced new opinions "which they in England then judged to be groundles and unwarrantable." The firſt of theſe opinions was, "That a flinted form of prayer and fet liturgy is unlawfull." They add, "that leſters in New England had induced many in Old to leave their Assemblies, because of a flinted liturgy, and to absent themſelves from the Lord's ſupper becauſe ſuch as ought to be were not debarred from it." Hooker wrote to Shepard refpeſing this letter, "I confeſſ freely to thee my fears that the firſt and ſecond queſtions, touching a flinted form of prayer, will prove very hard to make any handsome work upon." See Hutchinson's History, 1, 81. London, 1765. The treatise of Ball, mentioned on p. 23, note 6, ante, was prompted by the ſpread of theſe "new opinions" in England.

by our Persecuting [101] of him for his bumble, faithfull, and constant admonisshing of us for such an uncleane walking, between a particular Church, and a Nationall.

Reply. Our joyning with the Ministers of *England* in hearing of the Word and Prayer, doth not argue our Church-Communion with the Parish-Churches in *England*, much lesse with the Nationall Church: as hath been shewed above in *Chap. 14.*

Befides, when *Jeroboam* heard the word from the young Prophet of *Judah*, and joyned with him in Prayer, I demand whether in so doing, he joyned in Church-Communion with the Nationall Church of *Judah*? If yea, then was the Church of *Judah* pollutedly the uncleane Communion of Idolatrous *Jeroboam*: If not, then the Examiner may easily discerne, how weake an Argument it is to argue our Communion with the Nationall Church of *England*, from our members joyning in the Hearing of the Word, and Prayer in the Parish-Churches of *England*.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ "The *Discouer* sometimes endeavoured to draw away the Church of *Salem* (whereof he was sometime Teacher) from holding Communion with all the Churches in the Bay, because wee tolerated our members to heare the word in the Parishes of *England*. Wee to fatise him in that, held forth (that which here he calleth a varnish) that hearing was a common Duty lying upon all men, where the word of God was truly taught. He replied, as he doth now, that Teaching and hearing in a Church-Estate is Church worship, *Act 2. 46.* To which we gave Answer (as now againe) That though Teaching and being taugh in a Church-Estate be Church-Worship (according to *Act 2. 46.*) yet it is not a Church-Worship, but to such as are in

a Church-Estate: To all it is an holy Ordinance of Gods worship, and a Christian Duty. And though Teaching and hearing doth imply a Relation, yet not a Church-relation. There is a relation between a Teacher and a Learner, in any Art, or Knowledge: and there may be a nearer relation between a Preacher and an Hearer, in case the Hearer be begotten to God by such a Sermon (even the same relation as is between a Spiritual Father, and Sonne:) but this doth not amount to Church-relation, and Communion, till there passe some mutuall profession of Covenant (explicit or implicit) between them. A Pagan Infidell may come into a Christian Church-Assembly to heare the word, and may be convinced and converted by it, (as sup-

His second Instance to make it appeare, *That we see not the evill of a Nationall Church, from our Persecuting of him, &c.*

In this I choose rather to blame his memory then his conscience. But the one of them is much to blame, in that it maketh him so farre forger himselfe and the Truth, as boldly to avouch a notorious falsehood; *That we Persecuted him for his bumble, and faithfull, and constant admonishing of us of such uncleane walking, between a particular Church and a Nationall.*

It is one notable falsehood to say, that he did constantly admonish, either our Elders or Churches of such an offence; much lesse, humbly, and faithfully. If he did so admonish us, where are his witnesses? His Letters? his Messengers sent to us?

Besides, It is another falsehood, and no lesse palpable, that we did persecute him for such admonishing of us. It hath been declared above, upon what grounds the sentence of his Banishment did Proceed:¹⁷ whereof this Admonition (which he pretendeth) was none of them; neither did they persecute him at all, who did so proceed against him.

Now whereas in that Passage of the Letter even now recited I said, *He knew not what Professions we had made in our Churches of our Humiliations for former Pollutions, nor had he admonished us of our defcts therein: He demandeth how he could possibly be ignorant of our estate, who had been from first to last in fellowship with us, an Officer [102] amongst us, had private*

pose he in *Corinth*, 1 *Corinthians* 14. 24, 25.) yet is he not therefore joyned in Church-Estate, and Fellowship with them, without profession of acknowledgement, and acceptance." Bloody Tenant Washed, p. 166.

¹⁷ For these grounds see, *ante*, pp. 24 to 30. It is worthy of note that while in the passage above Williams lays great

stress on his views respecting communion with the English church as a cause of his banishment, he makes no allusion whatever to his opinions respecting the power of the civil magistrates, as contributing to the same result, although such allusion would naturally find a place in a discussion respecting "the evill of a National Church."

and publique agitations concerning our estate and condition, and at last suffered for such Admonition to us, the misery of a Winters Banishment amongst the Barbarians?

Reply. As if every man in fellowship with us, an Officer amongst us, one that had private and publique agitations with us, must needs know what our members professed in their admissions to the Church, or what our Elders confessed in their dayes of solemne Humiliation, when himselfe was generally absent, both on the Lords dayes, and on the dayes of solemne fasting? Or as if the private and publique agitations that he had with us, were taken up about our Communion with a Nationall Church? I am yet to learne, what Arguments he did propound to us in that cause: what convictions he left upon us. When he is still so full of the miseries of his winters banishment amongst the *Barbarians*, it maketh me call to minde a grave and godly speech of a blessed Saint, now with God, (reverend Mr. Dod)ⁿ *Where finne lyeth heavy, afflictions lyeth light: where affliction lyeth heavy, finne lyeth light.*

ⁿ The Rev. John Dod, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, was born in 1549. He was afterwards settled for twenty years at Hanwell, in Oxfordshire. He was a subscriber to the "Book of Discipline," and was suspended for several years, but on the accession of James the First was restored, and continued in the ministry until his death, in 1645. Like all the leading Puritan divines he had a very high reputation for learning, and Archbishop Usher said of him, "Whatever some affirm of Mr. Dod's strictness, and scrupling some ceremonies, I desire that when I die my soul may rest with his." He was much in the habit of uttering pithy maxims, which might be seen pasted on the walls of cottages. For

the one here quoted he was, however, indebted to his father-in-law, Mr. Greenham.

Dod was deservedly held in great esteem by Cotton, who spoke of him when dying. See, *ante*, p. 83, note 50. Before relinquishing his charge in England Cotton consulted Dod, who gave this advice, "I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still, and bear the brunt; but you being young Peter, may go whither you will, and ought, being persecuted in one city, to flee unto another;" and when it was urged by some of the Boston church that should Cotton leave, very many of them would be exposed to extreme temptation, Dod replied, "That the removing of a minister was like the

To CHAP. XX.

THe maine Objection which M^r. *Williams* made against the Estate of our Church-members, was chiefly this; That though he acknowledgeth them to be godly, yet not sufficiently separate from Antichrist. And that he endeavoured to prove, 1. From the Texts that call for separation from *Babylon*, Isa. 52. 2 Cor. 6. Rev. 18. 2. From the confession of sinnes made by *Johns* Disciples, Mat. 3. and the Profelyte Gentiles, *A&E's* 19. To both these we have returned Answer already.

His third Objection followeth from *Haggai* 2. 13, 14, 15. where the Prophet telleth the Church of the *Jewes*, *That if a Person unclean by a dead body, doe touch holy things, those holy things become unclean to him. And so (faith he) is this Nation, and so is every worke of their hands, and that which they offer here is unclean.* And from hence he argueth; *That even Church-Covenants made and Ordinances practised by persons polluted through spirituall deadnesse, and filthinesse of Communion, they become unclean to them, and are profaned by them: which be solemnly defineth might be advisedly weighed.*

103] Whereto my Aswer was; *That if he had well weighed this place himselfe, he would never have alledged it to his purpose. His purpose was to prove, that Churches cannot be constituted of such members, as are unclean by Antichristian pollutions: or if they be so constituted, they are not to be Communicated with, but separated from.* To prove this, you alledge (*said I*) this

draining of a fish pond: the good fish will follow the water, but eels, and other baggage fish, will stick in the mud." According to Cotton Mather there were two ways especially in which Cotton followed the example of Dod, in not

quoting Latin in Sermons, and in making short family prayers. Dod was one of the signers of the Letter to the ministers of New England, mentioned ante, p. 100, note 55. See Fuller's Worthies, part 1, p. 481. Brooks's Lives, 3, 1.

place, where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church to be uncleane, and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truely constituted, nor stirreth up himselfe, or others to separate from them. If you say, why, but they were uncleane.

I answered; Be it so. But were they therefore no Church truely Constituted? Or to be separated from? Did not Haggai, and Zachary themselves Communicate with them? And did they not call others also to come out of Babel to Communicate with them, even whilest Joshua the High Priest was still polluted with his uncleane Garments? Zach. 2. 6, 7. with Chapt. 3. 8.

Whereupon I tooke occasion to cleare up to him the occasion, and scope, and true fence of the words at large, as may appeare in the Letter, which having gathered up I said, That if he did apply it to the Point in hand, it would reach nothing neere to his purpose. Hypocrites in the Church, yea and godly sincere Christians themselves, whilest they attend to the world more then to the things of God, (as at that time the Jewes did) both their persons, and their labours, and their Civill Oblations are uncleane in the sight of God:

Therefore the Church of Christ cannot be constituted of such: or if it doe consist of such, the People of God must separate from them. You might well have gathered.

Therefore the Church of Christ, and the members thereof must separate themselves from their hypocrisie and inordinate love of this world, or else they and their duties will still be uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Church-Estate.

This Collection tendeth to edification; the other to dissipation, and destruction of the Church, and wrefelb Bloud instead of Milke from the Breasts of holy Scripture.

This Text is so evident, and pregnant, and full against himselfe, that I could not but marvell, why he shoulde alledge it, and especially why he shoulde desire it might be throughly

weighed, and the Lord to hold the scales himselfe. How doe you then thinke, that he will hence inferre his Conclusion ; That Godly persons, if uncleane, [104] cannot constitute a true Church ? or if they doe, they are to be separated from ? Surely not from the words of the Text, nor from the fence, which I make of it : nor from any fence, which himselfe can give of it. How then ? Onely from his mistake of my words, and that surely either through a drousie Oscitancy, or a flighty Precipitancy.

What (faith he) have I spoken more then M^t. Cotton himselfe bath uttered in his Explication and Application of this Scripture ; As,

1. *That Godly persons may become defiled, and uncleane, by hypocrisie and worldlineffe.*

2. *While they lye in such a condition of uncleannesse, all their offerings, persons, labours are uncleane in the sight of God, notwithstanding their Churcb-estate.*

3. *The Churcb cannot be constituted of such worldly Persons (though otherwise godly and Christian.)*

Or 4. *If they doe, the People of God must separate from them. These be (faith he) M^t. Cottons own expresse words.*

Reply. He might as well say, these be the expresse words of Christ, *Hang all the Law, and the Prophets, because Christ faith, (Mat. 19. 40.) upon these two Commandements, Hang all the Law and the Prophets.* So these be my expresse words ; *The true and genuine meaning of the place, if you doe apply to the Point in hand, it will reach nothing neere to your purpose. Hypocrites in the Churcb and godly Christians themselves, whilest they attend to the world more then to the things of God, their persons, their labours, their Civill Oblations are all uncleane in the sight of God.* Ergo. *The Churcb of Christ cannot be consti-*

tuted of such: or if it doe consist of such, the People of God must separate from them.

Who feeth not that attendeth to what he feeth, that in these words I expresse not mine own meaning or reasoning, but his: and that I exprefly say, The true meaning of the Text will nothing neere reach to his purpose, and so bring in his reaſon, in forme of an Enthymeme, which he draws from it? But if I had made that Enthymeme the exprefſion of mine own meaning, and of the meaning of the Text, it had fully and closely reached his own purpose.

The next words following might alſo plainly have cleared my meaning to him: when in stead of that false collection which he [105] gathered, I tell him, you might well have gathered: therefore the Church of Chriſt, and the members thereof must separate themſelves from their hypocriſie, and their inordinate love of this world: Or elſe they and their duties will be ſtill uncleane in the fight of God, notwithstanding their Church-eſtate.

This Collection tendeth to edification: the other to the diſipa-tion, and deſtruclion of the Flock, and wrefteth bloud inſtead of milke from the Breaſts of holy Scripture.

Doe I not here plainly exprefſe two ferveſall, and contrary Collections from the Text, the one his, the other mine own; the one tending to edification, the other to deſtruclion? And yet this false collection, and misapplication of the Text, which is his own, and a manifest Perverting both of the Text, and of my words, he will needs force upon me, contrary to my meaning, and contrary also to my exprefſe words above in the entrance of mine Answer to this Text. Where I ſay,

Your purpose was to prove, That Churches cannot be conſtituted by ſuch persons as are uncleane by Antichriſtian pollu-

tions: or if they be so constituted, they are not to be communicated with, but separated from. To prove this, you alledge this place where the Prophet acknowledgeth the whole Church of the Jewes to be uncleane: and yet neither denieth them to be a Church truely constituted, nor stirreth up himselfe or others to separate from them.

What by the way he discourses of the Excommunication in the Nationall Church of the Jewes, somewhat hath been spoken to it above. When he saith, *That their Ceremoniall Excommunication was either putting to death in Canaan, or Captivitie out of Canaan.* If he meane this was all their Excommunication, I cannot assent to it. King Uzziab was neither put to death in *Canaan*, nor carried captive out of *Canaan*, and yet he was Excommunicated both from Temple-worship, Synagogue-worship, and all familiar communion of the Saints.

Againe, when he maketh it an Excommunication from God, in case God sell his Church into spirituall Captivitie, to confusd Babylonish Lords, and worship, and that so he driveth them out of his sight: He might remember, that God sometime sold his people under the Bondage of Babylonish Lords, even in the Land of *Canaan*, (Jer. 40. 9. & 42. 10, 11, 12.) And yet he had not straight way driven them out of his sight.

IT was my serious and unfeigned endeavour, in my Letter which the Examiner hath answered, to have removed those two stumbling blocks out of his way, which I perceived had turned him off, from holding fellowship with these Churches.

The former was, *The want of fit matter of our Churches*: The latter, *Our dis-respect to the separate Churches in England, under affliction, when neverthelesse our selves practise separation in peace.*

From the beginning of his tenth Chapter, he hath endeavoured to fasten the former of these stumbling blocks, that it may still lie in his way, and stand (as an everlasting wall of partition) between us. Which neverthelesse I have (as you see) through the helpe of Christ endeavoured to dig through the fandiness thereof, that if it were the holy will of God, it might fall downe (like the walles of *Jericho*) before the Arke of the Lord, and neither detaine him, nor others, from Communion with us.

The latter stumbling block, he goeth about to re-establish in this, and the following Chapters to the end of his Booke; Come we therefore to consider, whether there may be any hope, of removing this stumbling block also, and the establishment thereof by the same helpe. The stumbling block lieth somewhat broader, then at first was propounded. The Examiner takes it as a great offence; *That we walke between Chrift and Antichrift.*

1. *In practyfing separation here, and not repenteing of our preaching, and printing against it in our own Countrey.*³⁹

³⁹ Among the Puritan divines conspicuous as opponents of Separation, were Ames and Parker, to whom Cotton was so much indebted, see, *ante*, notes 36 and 50. And although Cotton became afterwards the foremost advocate of the Congregational discipline established in New England, yet he was never willing to acknowledge any affinity with the early Separatists. When Baylie, in his "Diffusive," declared that the Separatists, through Robinson and the Church

at Leyden, were the Fathers of the New England Churches, Cotton replied, "That the Separatists were our Fathers, we have justly denied it above; seeing they neither begat us to God, nor to the Church, nor to their Schisms. That we are (through grace) begotten to God, and to his Church, we received (many of us) from the blessing of Christ upon the Ministry of *England*. That we grew weary of the burden of Episcopacy and Conformity, we received from the

2. In reproaching himselfe at Salem, and others, for separation.
3. In particular, that my selfe have conceived and spoken,
Tbat separation is a way, which God bath not prospered: as if (faith he) the truth of the Churches depended upon the countenance of men, or upon outward peace and libertie.

To the first of these I answered in my Letter, *Tbat in stead of halting betwixt Chrift, and Antichrifi, the Lord bath guided us to walke with an even foote between two extremes: so that we neither defile our selves with the remnantes of pollution in other Churches; nor doe we for the remnantes of pollution, renounce the Churches themselves, nor the holly thynge of God amongst them, whiche our selves have found powerfull to [107] salvation. This moderation so farre as we have kept it in preaching or printing, we have seene no cause to repent of it; But if any shall shew us cause, why we shoulde repent of it, we shall definire to repent of it, yea and to repent, that we repented no sooner.*

Word of God by the help of the Non-conformists there. That we laid aside the Book of Common-prayer, we received from the serius meditation of the second Commandment, and not from the writings of the Separatists, though they also have taken up the same conclusion upon other premisses. The particular visible Church of a Congregation to be the first subject of the power of the Keyes, we received by the light of the Word from Mr. Parker, Mr. Baynes, and Dr. Amer: from whom also, (from two of them at least) we received light out of the Word, for the matter of the visible Church to be visible Saints; and for the Form of it, to be a naturall Covenant, whether an expilite or implicite Professiōn of Faith, and subjection to the Gospel of Chrif in the society of the Church, or Presbytery thereof. And these be the chief

Doctrines and praetices of our way, so far as it differeth from other Reformed Churches. And having received them, not from the Separatists, but from the Lord Jesu, by gracieous Saints, and faithfull witnessies of Jesu; the consanguinity of our Tenents with any the like found amongst the Separatists, will not demonstrate the Separatists to be our Fathers.

"It is very likely (and by the fruits of some of them, it is very evident) that the Church of Plymouth in New England received very much light and life, by the blessing of Chrif upon Mr. Robinson his Ministry, whilest he lived with them in Holland: nor need we to be ashamed, to learn any truth of God from him, or them, or from any other Saints of God, of farre meaneer gifts, than he or they had received. But I must confesse ingenuously, that his denyall of the Parishionall

The Examiner here undertaketh to prove this *middle walking to be no lesse then balting, of which we have cause to repent.* And this he endeavours to prove to me, out of mine own Confessions.

Firſt, faith he, M^r. Cotton bimſelfe confeſſeth, that no Nationall, Provinciall, Dioceſan, or Parijſ Churcb, wherēin ſome truly godly are not, are true Churches.

Secondly, He practiſeth no Churcb-eſtate, but ſuch as is conſtituted only of godly perſons, nor admitteth any unregenerate, or ungodly perſons.

Thirdly, He confeſſeth, that a Churcb of Chriſt cannot be conſtituted of ſuch godly perſons, who are in bondage to the inordinate love of the world.

Fourthly, That if a Churcb conſift of ſuch, Gods people ought to ſeparate from them.

Reply. If theſe (which he calleth confeſſions of M^r. Cotton) have been ſtumblings to him, I ſhall (by the helpe of

Congregations in England to be true Churches, (either by reaſon of their mixt and corrupt matter, or for defect in their Covenant, or for exceilē of their Epilcoppall Government) was never received into any heart, from thence to inferre a nullity of their Churcb-eſtate. Neither was our departure from them even in thole evill times, a Separation from them as no Churches, but rather a Seceſſion from the corruptions found amogſt them, unto which alſo we muſt have been forced to conforme, even in our own Practiſe through the Rigour of the times, unleſſe wee had timely departed from them. In which caſe, Doctor Ames will excuse us (yea and the Holy Ghost alſo) from alperſion of ſchism or any other ſin, in ſo doing." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14.

That the attitide of Cotton towards the Separatists gave offence to the Plymouth church is very clear from the curious tracſt of Governor Bradford, called "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between ſome Young Men born in New England and ſundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England, Anno Domini 1648." In it Bradford ſays: "For our Churches here in New England do the ſame thing under the name of *Seceſſion* from the corruptions found amogſt them, as the other did under the name or term of *Separation* from them—Only this declines the odium the better." See Young's Chroni- cles of the Pilgrims, p. 417. The diſference between the Puritans and the Separatists is ſet forth by Prince, Annals pp. 302, 305.

Christ) foone remove them out of his way. For I doe profess, that I never made any such Confessions, but looke at them all as contrary to my judgement, both in former times and to this day.

For the first, Though there were no truely godly persons in a Church, yet if there be such as profess godlinesse (such as they call visible Saints) to meeete together in a Congregation to worship the Lord, and to edifie one another in the administration of his holy Ordinances, I doe beleieve there is truth of Church-estate.

It is true, I doe beleieve, and confess, that God requireth more then profession of godlinesse, even sinceritie of holiness in Church-members, and it is no small finne in them, if it be wanting; But what if some, if most, if all beleieve not? *Shall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect? God forbid?* Rom. 3. 3, 4. If an hypocriticall Church were no Church, then an hypocriticall Minister were no Minister, and his administrations nullities. *Cultus institutus*, in the whole latitude of it, as Churches, Ministeries, Seales, Censures, &c. they are all ordained for the Elects sake. And the 108] Elect God would have them to be *ἀπειψυχος*, without carefull scruples and distractions. If truth of Churches, and Ministeries, and Ordinances, depended upon the personall sinceritie of the godlinesse of the dispensers, the Elect of God would ever be intangled with inextricable scruples, touching their cōmunion here or there, with this or that Church, or the administrations of the Officers thereof. But God hath called us in peace.

For the second part (which he maketh) of my Confessions, he had said true, if he had said, I endeavour such a thing, that our Church should be constitute of godly persons: but I doe not say I have attained it; for God feeth not as man

feeth : man looketh at the outward appearance, but the Lord regardeth the heart, *i Sam. 16. 7.* And sure I am, we looke at Infants as members of our Church, (as being fœdurally holy) but I am slow to beleeve that all of them are regenate, or truly godly.

As for the third and fourth point (which he maketh) of my Confession ; *That a Church of Christ cannot be constituted of godly persons, taken with the inordinate love of the world : or that a Church consisting of such, ought to be separated from :* These are onely his own palpable mistakes of those words of mine, which I expressed as the summe of his words, which he (through haft) conceived to be mine, whereof we have spoken in the 20th Chapter.

Let him not say (as he doth) that when I would not have *Parish Churches to be separated from, for the remnants of pollution, I mean onely, Ceremonies, and Bisbops : neither let him say, that I doe extenuate and mince the roote, masse, and substance of the matter of Nationall Churches, (though for the greater part unregenerate) by naming onely a remnant of pollutions.*

For he knoweth we wholly avoyde Nationall, Provinciall, and Diocesan Government of the Churches by Episcopall Authority : He knoweth also, we avoyde their prescript Liturgies, and Communion with openly scandalous perfons in any Church-order ; He knoweth likewise, (or at least may know) that it is a continuall sorrow of heart, and a mourning of our soules, that there is yet so much of those notorious evils (which he nameth) still continuing in the Parishes, worldlineffe, ignorance, superstition, scoffing, swearing, curling, whoredome, drunkenesse, theft, lying, I may adde also murther, and malignity against the godly, suffered [109] to thrust themselves into the fellowship of the Churches, and to sit downe with the Saints at the Lords Table.

But yet I count all these but remnants of pollution, when as the substance of the true estate of Churches abideth (as I opened above) in their Congregationall Assemblies. And in so speaking, I follow the holy patterne of the Prophet *Ijaiab*, who acknowledging a great forsaking (or Apostacy) in the midst of the Land, yet resembleth the estate of the Church to an Oake, whose substance is in it, (when the leaves fall off) and maketh the holy feed to be that substance, *Ijai. 6. 12, 13.*

To CHAP. XXII.

THe second offence which the Examiner tooke at our neglect of the Churches of the separation, *Was the reproach of himselfe and others at Salem, for their separation.*

To which I answered in my Letter, *That I knew no man who reproached Salem for their separation, nor did I beleeve, that they did separate.* Howsover, if any did reproach them for it, I did thinke it a fine meete to be Censured, but not with so deepe a Censure, as to excommunicate all the Churches, or to separate from them, before it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such their causall reproachings. The errors of men are to be contended against, not with reproaches, but with the sword of the Spirit. But on the other side, the failings of the Churcbes are not forthwith to be healed by separation. It is not Chirurgery, but Butchery, to beale every sore in a member, with no other but Abscission from the body.

Whereto the Examiner answereith, *That the Church of Salem was knowne to professe separation, and publickly reproached (yea he could mention a Cafe wherein shee was punished) for it, implicitly.*

Reply. This answer is so implicit, that I cannot make an explicite answer to it. That which I said, was, *I knew no man that reproached Salem for their separation: nor did I believe, that they did separate.* His answser is, *That the Church of Salem was knowne to professe separation:* which crosseth not what I said; for it might be so, and yet I knew not of it, unlesse the profession had been more publick. Nor did I ever perceive, that they refused communion with [110] us, when any of them came over to us. If they were publickly reproached for separation, it was more then I heard of, till I read it in his Booke. And for any publick punishment that Salem suffered for it, I may well say, it was implicitly, if at all; for surely there is no Law of the Countrey, that punisheth such an offence, either explicitly, or implicitly. But since he is pleased to conceale it, I see no cause of giving account of it.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Although the Salem church called Williams to be their teacher, he "being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions," yet that by this act they did not deign "to professe separation," was clearly shewn by the fact that he himself afterwards renounced communion with them for the express reason that they would not separate from the churches of the Bay. (*ante*, p. 39, note 19.) Nor was it correct to say that the Salem church was punished for profesting separation, for the only proceedings to which the term punishment could with any propriety be applied, the action of the Court with reference to the Marblehead land, and the refusal to receive the deputies from Salem, had no reference whatever to any threatened separation. See Winthrop, 1, 164.

How far the views of Williams were embraced at Salem is a question that can-

not be easily decided. Winthrop says the "whole church was grieved" by his threat to renounce communion with them, and that after he had done so they "openly disclaimed his errors," pp. 166, 171. Again he affigis as a reason for the final summary execution of the sentence, "because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinions, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narraganett Bay," p. 175. And he adds, that Williams "had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there (especially of decent women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them," p. 176, but further on he states, that when the Salem church asked the other churches with reference to those

Nextly, He takes up from me a Confession of two things, which he leaveth to me to reconcile: 1. *That I say, if any reproach them for Separation, it is a finne meete to be Censured.* 2. *That Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causeleffe reproachings.*

Reply. It is true, that I doe not account reproaches, (which are a worke of the flesh) a meete remedy to heale an error: And therefore the reproacher meete to be delt withall, either by private admonition, (if his reproach were private;) or with a publick admonition, if it were publick. But the latter of the two things which he saith I confess, I am farre from either confessing it, or beleeving it; to wit, *That the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causeleffe reproachings.*

I said indeed, *that a causeleffe reproach is a finne meete to be censured: But I said withall, it is not to be censured with so*

who desired to separate, whether it "were not better to grant them dismission to be a church by themselves," the magistrates "would not allow them to be a church, being but three men, and eight women." It seems probable from these statements, that while the great body of the church were attached to Williams, but a small number adopted his extreme views. It seems also clear that the dispute was not respecting Toleration but Separation.

The question has been raised whether this whole controversy has not been invented by later writers with an importance which did not belong to it. Winthrop mentions a circumstance which will help to furnish an answer. About the time that Williams fled from Salem, a difficulty arose in the church at Sagus, which the magistrates settled by requiring

the minister "to remove out of the town within three months," page 177. Under date of February 25, 1636, Winthrop writes, "The distirbations about the churches of Salem and Sagus, and the removal of other churches, and the great scarcity of corn, etc. occasioned a general fast to be proclaimed," evidently regarding all these reasons as possessing about the same significance.

Another fact which may be cited as bearing upon the same question is that Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour," which was published in 1654, makes no mention of Roger Williams, although he enters at length into the controversies awakened by Gorton and Anne Hutchinson. The views of Williams respecting the Civil Magistrates, and Church ordinances, are possibly alluded to on pp. 8 and 24.

deepe a Censure, as excommunication, especially of all the Churches, and that too, before that it doe appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such their caufefleſſe reproachings.

But it may be, he will say, doth it not imply, that if it doth appeare, that they doe tolerate their members in such caufefleſſe reproaches, that then I thinke they are to be separated from?

Answ. No verily: Put it in a like case: Suppose a childe should miscall and revile his Mothers Sister, I might say, it is a fault meete to be corrected, yet not with so deepe a correction, as to be disinherited: or that his Mother should be dispossesſed of her inheritance, before it doe appeare, that she doe tolerate her childe in such revilings. Would ſuch a ſpeech inferre, that in cafe it did appeare, his Mother did tolerate him, that then his Mother were to be dispossesſed of her inheritance? The true meaning of my ſpeech, was to exprefſe, that ſuch a finne, as reproaching of a Church for a ſin, might deſerve a Censure: yet not forthwith excommunicatiōn: [111] much leſſe the Church to be excommunicated, whereof ſuch an one is a member, and leaſt of all, before it did appear, that the Church knew of it, or did tolerate it: The ſcope of my ſpeech was, not to hold forth the grievous defert of a reproach, but the groundleſſe proceeding unto separation for a reproach, both againſt a member, and againſt the Church that tolerated him, without any further conviction, or obſtinacy, which was the caſe in hand of M^r. Williams. Somebody, he faith, reproached the Church of Salem for separation, ſome member of ſome Church. But what member of what Church, he faith not? And yet this is one of the ſtumbling blocks that turned him out of the way of communion with all the Churches in the Countrey, who (for ought I know) never heard of it unto this day.

Let him now say, that mine owne confessions are sufficient Answers to my selfe, as if I granted, that in case the member had been knowne, who so reproached *Salem*, and the Church knowne whereof he was a member, *That then there were a lawfull separation from the Church that doth but tolerate her member in a causelie reproach, yea and from all other Churches too, that hold Communion with that Church.*

For he is not ignorant, more goeth to a separation then so, unlesse he hath forgotten the principles and rudiments of Church-Government.

He confesseth that to be true which I said, *That it is not Chirurgery but Butchery, to beale every sore with no other medicine, but with Abscission from the body:* But yet as if he could make mine own exprestions, confutations of my selfe, he saith that I have confessed (that which indeed is not my confession, but my collection of his Argument;) *That Churches of Godly persons must be separated from, for inordinate worldliness.*

If this be a Contradiction, it is his, and not mine, as I shewed above; neither doe I own any such confession, as mine, which he subjoyneth; *That Churches may be separated from, when they tolerate their members in their causelie reproaches.*

It seemeth, he thinketh, I neither remember mine own words, nor know any Church-Censure, but Excommunication.

He proceedeth to tell us his judgement in so waighty a case as excommunication or separation is: *It is not (faith he) every sore of infirmite, or ignorance, but an Ulcer or Gangrene of obstinacy, for [112] whicb I maintained, that a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from.*

I know not how this judgement of his may satisfie his

neighbours; but a good Conscience willing to walke by rule, would still inquire, (where it was meete) First, whether every obstinacy, even before conviction, and that in a sinne lesse hainous, be such an ulcer, or Gangrene, for which either a person ought to be cut off, or a Church separated from? For there is an obstinacy against a good way, as there is a scorning of a good way, which is before conviction, even of ignorance: and to these Wisdome communicateth good Counsell, *Prov. 1. 20. 22.* But there is a scorning, and fo an obstinacy, after conviction, and to such, Wisdome refuseth to communicate any wholesome words, *Prov. 9. 8, 9.*

If he meane the former, why did he refuse communion with us upon such an obstinacy of ignorance? By what rule did he procede?

If he meane the latter, let him produce his caufe, and bring forth all his strong reasons, whereby he did so much as offer to convince us of our obstinacy in any crime, and we will acknowledge his separation to be just, and our sinne to be great in not hearkening to him.

If he tell us againe, (as he doth in the next words, as indeed the mouth is most full of the abundance of the heart) if he tell us againe of our guiltinesse of cruelty, both against consciences and bodies, in persecuting of them, wee must needs tell him againe, that neither himselfe, nor any others, (that I can heare off) did ever suffer any Censure, (which he calleth cruelty to consciences and bodies) till after his separation from all the Churches in the Countrey. And though he faith in the next words, *He separated Conscientiously and peaceably:* Yet did ever peaceable Conscience (before him) separate from Churches for an offence before it was committed?

If he tell us, he separated, for our communion with the Churches of *England*, in hearing the word in the Parishes

there, let all that feare God (whose hearts are not forestalled with prejudice or partiality) judge whether his reasons alledged to convince us of such a sinne, (the strongest whereof were answere in my Letter to him, and have been againe refuted in this Reply) have been of [113] such convincing power, as that wee for not hearkening to him must needs lie under the guilt of an ulcer, or Gangrene of obstinacy, and that after conviction. I may therefore well call it, not Chirurgery but Butchery, to cut off not onely so many members of Christ, but also so many Churches of Christ from fellowship with Christ, before any ulcer or Gangrene of obstinacy was discovered to us; Nay, I feare I might speake a further word, (and yet I would be loath to speake any doubtfull thing;) but surely (my memory much faileth me or else) he broke forth into this separation, before he gave us any grounds of his separation at all, or of our conviction of any such sinne, as might deserve such a Censure.⁶⁴ And whether that be Butchery or Chirurgery, let the upright judge.

But, faith he, if it be Butchery to separate conscientiously and peaceably from the spirituall communion of a Church, or Saints, what shall it be called by the Lord Jesuſ, to cut off persons, them, and theirs, branch, and roote, from any Civill being in their Territories, &c. Because their Consciences dare not bow downe to any worship, but what the Lord Jesuſ hath appointed, and being also otherwise ſubjeēt to the Civill eſtate, and Lawes thereof?

Here be many extenuations, and mincings of his own carriage, and as many false aggravations of Guilt upon his ſentence of Banishment, and the Authors of it.

As, 1. In that he was cut off, he and his, branch and roote, from any Civill being in these Territories, because their Con-

⁶⁴ Compare *ante*, p. 39, note 19.

sciences durst not bow downe to any worship, but what they beleive the Lord had appointed: Whereas the truth is, his Banishment proceeded not against him, or his, for his own refusall of any worship, but for seditious opposition against the Patent, and against the Oath of fidelitie offered to the people.⁶²

2. That he was subject to the Civill estate, and Lawes thereof, when yet he vehemently opposed the Civill foundation of the Civill estate, which was the Patent: And earnestly also opposed the Law of the generall Court, by which the tender of that Oath was enjoyned: and also wrote Letters of Admonition to all the Churches, whereof the Magistrates were members, for deferring to give present Answere to a Petition of Salem, who had refused to hearken to a lawfull motion of theirs.⁶³

[114] 3. That he did but separate from the spirituall society of a Church, or Saints: whereas he both drew away many others also, and as much as in him lay, separated all the Churches from Christ.⁶⁴

4. In that he maketh the cutting off of persons, them and theirs, branch and rush, from civill Territories, a farre more hainous and odious offence in the eyes of the Lord Jesus, then himselfe to cut off, not onely himselfe and his, branch and rush, but many of his neighbours (by sedition) from spirituall Communion with the Churches, and all the Churches from Communion with Christ. As if the cutting off persons, them and theirs, branch and rush, from the Covenant, and spirituall Ordinances in the Church, were a matter of no account in respect of cutting off from Civill Liberties in the Territories of the Common-wealth.

⁶² Compare *ante*, p. 27, note 10; p. 29, note 12. ⁶³ Compare *ante*, p. 29. ⁶⁴ Compare *ante*, p. 110, note 60.

5. In that, what himselfe did, he predicateth as done conscientiously and peaceably, as if what the Court had done against him, they had not done conscientiously also, and with regard to publick peace, which they saw he disturbed, and stood stiffly in his own course, though he was openly convinced in open Court (as I shewed before) that he could not maintaine his way, but by finning against the light of his own Conscience.⁶⁵ As for his Marginall note, *wherin he chargeth M^r. Cotton to be deeply guilty of Cruelty, both against Consciencies and bodies, in persecuting of them.*

I will onely Answere thus much, (partly from *David*, partly from *Job*.) If the Lord have stirred him up thus to reproach me, (as *Simeon* did him) I hope the Lord will looke upon mine affliction, and requite me good for all his slander, this day, or this yeare, 2 *Sam.* 16. 12. But if he himselfe (who without caufe is mine adversary) hath whet his tongue like a sword, and his bow to shoot out his arrowes, even bitter words, (*Psal.* 64. 3. as he frequently doth in his Booke) surely I shall take his booke upon my shoulder, and bind it as a Crowne to me, *Job* 31. 36.

To CHAP. XXIII.

HIs 23. Chapter examineth a speech of mine which might tend to the dishonour of the Separation, as the reproach against [115] *Salem* had done before. My Speech was, *That God had not prospered the way of Separation: which least it shoud be mislaken, I interpreted, not in respect of outward prosperitie: for they found more favour in our native Country, then*

⁶⁵ Cotton here alludes to Hooker's argument with Williams, *ante*, pp. 30, 31.

those who walked in the way of Reformation, which is commonly reproached by the name of Puritanisme.⁶⁶ The meetings of the Separatists might be knowne to the Officers in the Courts, and winked at, when the Conventicles of the Puritans (as they call them) are hunted out with all diligence, and pursued with more violence, then any Law can justifie. But I said, that God had not prospered the way of Separation, in that he had not blessed it, either with peace amongst themselves, or with growth of grace, such as erring through simplicitie, and tenderneſſe of Conſcience, have growne in grace, have growne also to diſcern their lawfull libertie, to returne to the bearing of the Word from English Preachers.

To give Anſwer to this, the Examiner bestoweth many Chapters. His firſt Anſwer is, (that which is not unworthy

⁶⁶ Bradford evidently does not relish this affeſtion : " Far be it from any of us to detract from, or to extenuate the ſufferings of any of the fervants of God, much leſs from thole worthies forenamed, or any others afterwards mentioned. Yet, under favor, we crave pardon if we cannot confeſt to the judgement of ſuch eminent ones for piety and learning above hinted. We doubt not, but do eaſily grant, that the ſufferings of thole reproached by the name of Puritans were great, eſpecially ſome of them, and were better known to thole pious and learned [men] firſt above intimated, than the ſufferings of thole that are reproached by the name of Browniſts and Separatists." He then recites ſome facts which go to show that the number of Separatists who ſuffered perſecution of various kinds " would not only equalize but far exceed the number of thole godly called Puritans that have ſuffered. Suppose they were but few of their minifters that ſuffered, as above exprefſed ;

yet their forows might be as great, and their wants more, and their ſouls as much afflieted, because more contemned and neglected of men." He adds : " To ſpeak the truth, the professors in England, though many of them ſuffered much at the hands of the prelates, yet they had a great advantage of the Separatists; for the Separatists had not only the prelates and their faction to encounter with, (and what hard meafures they met with at their hands, above the others, doth ſufficiently appear by what is before declared,) but alſo they muſt endure the frowns, and many times the sharp invelvings, of the forward minifters againſt them, both in public and private; and what influence they had upon the ſpirits of the people, is well enough known alſo; by reaſon hereof the minifters in foreign countries did look awry at them when they would give help and countenance to the other." See Bradford's " Dialogue," &c., in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 435, 440.

to be attended to, by all whom it concerneth,) *That doubtlesse the Lord bath a great Controversie with the Land for their such violent pursuite and persecution of both. For both of them have borne witness to severall truths of the Lord Jesus.* Albeit, I deny not, the one party might have borne witness to more points of Truth: the other might have borne witness to fewer, and so have lesse exceeded bounds of Truth. To make the English Churches, and their Ministeries, and their Worship, and their Professors, either nullities, or Anti-christian, is a witness not onely beyond the truth, but against the Truth of the Lord Jesus, and his word of Truth.

But for their sufferings; *The Puritans (faith he) have not suffered comparatively to the other, (as but seldom Congregating in separate Assemblies from the common:) And none of them suffering unto death for the way of Non-Conformitie. Indeed (faith he) the worthy witness M^r. Udal¹⁶ was neere unto death*

¹⁶ The Rev. John Udal was educated at Cambridge, and for seven years was settled at Kingston-upon-Thames. After having been twice suspended, he was again settled at Newcastle. In 1590 he was convicted, upon wholly insufficient evidence, of writing the "Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath provided in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places until the end of the World." For some just observations upon this trial by one never inclined to favor the Puritans, see Hume, Hist. of Eng., 4, 196. Udal was sentenced to death, but was offered pardon on condition of signing a recantation, which he refused to do. But because the Queen had been misinformed respecting his opinions, Udal, at the suggestion of his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, who held him in high esteem, sent her majesty a short

confession of his faith, the first paragraph of which clearly sets forth his position. "I believe, and have often preached, that the church of England is a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being duly dispensed; for which reason, I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church. Therefore I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists." The intercession of King James, of Scotland, and others, delayed the execution of the sentence, until Udal died in prison of sorrow and grief, at the close of the year 1592. Because the sentence was not executed, Williams uses the expression "neere unto death." See State Trials, vol. 1, p. 144; Neal, 1, 340, 347; Fuller, Church History, B. ix.

for his witness against Bishops, and Ceremonies; But M'. Penry,⁶⁸ M'. Barrow,⁶⁹ M'. Greenwood⁷⁰ followed the Lord Jesu, with their Gibbets, and were hanged with him, and for him, in the way of separation. Many more have been condemned to dye, banished, and choaked in Prissons, whom I could produce upon occasion.

⁶⁸ The Rev. John Penry studied first at Cambridge, afterwards at Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1586. "When he first went to Cambridge," says Anthony Ward, "he was as arrant a Papist as ever came out of Wales. But being full of Welsh blood, and of a hot, resolute head, he changed his course and became a notorious Anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and a most bitter enemy to the church of England." *Athenæ Oxon.*, 1, 227. Upon the publication of Martin Mar-Prelate, in 1590, a warrant was issued to apprehend Penry, as an enemy to the State. Penry fled to Scotland, but returning to England was arraigned, condemned, and executed in May, 1593, being "turned off in a hurry about five of the clock in the evening, May 29." Penry was a member of the church of Brownills that was accustomed to meet in the fields and woods about London. His trial, like that of Udal, was a disgrace to English justice. The judge who passed sentence upon him was the Chief Justice Popham, afterwards connected with the abortive attempt at colonization in Maine, which has recently been the subject of so much discussion. Ward, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 1, 227; Neal, 1, 374; Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, vol. 1, p. 205.

⁶⁹ Henry Barrow was a lawyer, of Gray's Inn. His name appears among the signatures to the "Humble petition

of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the bishops in sundry prisons in and about London," which was presented to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. After a long imprisonment, Barrow was brought to trial with others, in March, 1592, on charge of "writing and publishing seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and government," and was hung at Tyburn, April 6. Neal, 1, 373; Brooks, 2, 24. Cotton says of Barrow that he was given up "to a spirit of bitterness and rancor," and infers that "his way was not right, or his heart not upright in it." *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 51.

⁷⁰ The Rev. John Greenwood was first chaplain to Lord Rich, but became afterwards a rigid Brownist, and was chosen teacher of the congregation about London. He was an intimate friend of Barrow, and their careers became identical. After undergoing several years imprisonment, he suffered death with Barrow. Neal, 1, 372; Brooks, 2, 23. Barrow and Greenwood were both condemned for sedition, while their real offence was opposition to the church. Their strong protestations of loyalty awakened the public attention, and it was said that the Queen herself, on learning the facts, repented that she had consented to their death.

The "Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood and Penry," are in the Harleian Miscellany.

Reply. Paul accounteth it a folly to make boasts in comparisons, even of sufferings: And therefore I choose to be sparing and briefe in this Argument: wherein otherwife I could be copious, there being [116] another Volume of the Booke of Martyrs (as I heare) extant in the Countrey, (though not in print) of the sufferings of the godly Ministers and people, beginning where Mr. Fox¹¹ left. When he saith, *Their witnesses against Bishops and Ceremonies, (whom he calleth Puritans) have seldom met in separate Assemblies from the common: It seemeth he never read the story of the Clusses¹² in Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Essex, London, Cambridge, dis-*

¹¹ John Fox, the celebrated author of the "Acts and Monuments," was born at Bolton, where Cotton was so long settled, in 1517. He died in 1587. His great work, commonly called the "Book of Martyrs," was first published in 1563. The ninth edition was published in 1684, in three volumes folio. I can find no account of the additional volume to which Cotton alludes.

¹² The Clusses were voluntary associations of the clergy, designed for mutual conference, and for the promotion of parochial discipline, which, as appears from the "Conclusions" drawn up by Cartwright and Travers, were in the habit of meeting as early as 1576. They aimed only at reformation within the Church. In the form of subscription to the Book of Discipline, the signers promised to frequent "every six weeks, clascical conferences." These associations were formed in several counties, but chiefly in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, under the direction of Cartwright, at that time Master of the Warwick hospital. (*Ante*, p. 64, note 35.)

For taking part in these meetings Cartwright and many others were summoned before the Court of High Commission in 1590. After lying for two years in prison they united in an Address to the Queen, in which they disclaimed utterly the charge of schism, acknowledging that the Church of England was "a true viible church of Christ, from the holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to depart." As a justification of their meeting in Clusses they say: "Some late years also have given us more speciall cause of conserning together, when *Jesuites, Seminaries, and other heretici*, sought to leduce many; and wherein also some schismatiques condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true viible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it; upon which occasion it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct, from such damnable errors." Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, 1, 207; Neal, 1, 231, 324, 355.

covered by a false brother to Doctor *Bancroft*⁷³ (Chaplain then to Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, afterwards Bishop of *London*, and after that Archbishop of *Canterbury*;) nor that he ever tooke notice of Doctor *Bancroft's* Booke against them, entituled, *Dangerous Positions and practises against Religion and State*; neither doth it seeme, that he doth acknowledge their frequent and continuall meetings to duties of humiliation, as any separate meetings from the common. But I doubt not, the Lord tooke notice of both, and hath now rewarded their fighes and groanes, prayers and teares in private with an open recompence and deliverance in the view of all men.

Besides, though he pleased to confine the witnesse of these he calleth *Puritans*, unto Testimony against Bishops and Ceremonies: yet I did not think, he had been such a stranger in *Israel*, (if by his leave I may call it *Israel*) as to be ignorant, how farre both the Admonitions to the Parliament⁷⁴ have reached to beare witnesse beyond Bishops and Ceremonies. To say nothing of M^r. *Deering*⁷⁵'s Sermon before

⁷³ Richard Bancroft, "the great adversary of the Puritans," became Bishop of London in 1606, and was translated to the see of Canterbury in December, 1604. It has been said that Bancroft, in his famous sermon at Paul's Crois, in 1588, was the first to lay down the doctrine of the divine right of Episcopacy. See Neal, 1, 331. Hallam doubts this, and thinks that the first traces of the doctrine are found about the end of Elizabeth's reign. Hallam, Cons. Hist. Eng., 1, 395. Lord Bacon fligmatizes this newly broached theory as "dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the churches abroad." do. note. The book of Bancroft which Cotton mentions, was published in 1593.

⁷⁴ The First Admonition to Parliament was drawn up by Field and Wilcox, in 1572, and expold with feverity the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the bishops. The imprisonment of these two ministers occasioned the Second, and more celebrated Admonition by Cartwright. (*ante*, p. 64, note 35.)

⁷⁵ The Rev. Edward Deering, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was chosen proctor in 1566, and Lady Margaret's preacher the year following. In his Sermon before the Queen, February 25, 1569, he had the boldness to say, "If you have sometimes said (meaning in the days of his sister Mary,) *tantquam ovis*, as a sheep appointed to be

the Queene, or M^r. Chadertons⁷⁶ at Pauls Croffe, or M^r. Parkers Ecclesiastica Politica,⁷⁷ or M^r. Baines⁷⁸ his Diocesans Tryall.

Though he say, *None of them suffered unto death, onely M^r. Udall was neere it*: Yet the truth is, he dyed by the annoy-ance of the Prifon, which he might as well have acknowledg-ed as he doth of some of the Separatists in this very Para-graph, that they were choaked in Prison. This I have understood by faithfull witnesse, that when the Coroners Jury (according to the Law of England) came (as the man-ner is in such cases) to survey the dead body of M^r. Udall in Prison, he bled freshly (though cold before) as a testimony against the murderous illegall proceedings of the State against him: for so the godly did apprehend it; judicious Perkins⁷⁹

slain; take heed you hear not now of the prophet, *tanguam indemna juvena,*
as an untamed and unruly heifer.⁸⁰ In his Letter to Burleigh, November 1, 1573, Deering took strong ground against Episcopcal government as then establisht in England. Brooks' Lives, 1, 193; Hopkins's Puritans, 1, 500.

⁷⁶ The Rev. Lawrence Chaderton was born in 1537, of a wealthy Roman Catholic family, but became a Protestant and entered Christ's College, Cambridge. For his change of religion he was disinherited. In 1584 he became Master of the newly founded Emanuel College, and continued in that office for thirty-eight years. He was a decided, but moderate, Puritan. He was one of the translators of the authorized version of the Bible. He died Nov. 13, 1640. The Sermon at Paul's Crofis, to which Cotton alludes, was preached October 26, 1578. Neal, 1, 640; Brooks, 2, 445; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 550.

⁷⁷ See ante, p. 64, note 36.

⁷⁸ Rev. Paul Bains, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he died in 1617. He incurred the displeasure of Bancroft, and because many under diff'rets of conscience reforted to him for advice, was accused of holding conventicles. The "Diocesans Tryall" was published in 1621. Cotton Mather states that when Cotton was settled at Boston "his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns, recommended unto him a pious gentle-woman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire, to become his consort in a married estate. See Life of Cotton, in Mather's Magnalia; Brooks's Lives, 2, 261; Neal, 1, 478. Bains was one of the three divines from whom Cotton received the Congregational system. See ante, p. 83, note 50.

⁷⁹ The Rev. William Perkins, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was born in 1558. He commenced his ca-

acknowledgeth such a kinde of bleeding to be a part of the accomplishment of that Scripture in *Heb.* 11. *That the bloud of Abel still speaketh.*

117] In like sort, for the same cause (choaked in the prison) suffered M^r. *Randall Bates*^m (an heavenly Saint) nor could he be released, though Doctor *Hering* (a learned and beloved Physician) earnestly solicited Bishop *Neale*ⁿ for his enlargement as he tendered his life, but the suite of the Physician reer as a preacher by voluntary ministrations to the prisoners confined in Cambridge, but the multitudes that flocked to hear him spread his fame throughout the University, and he was chosen preacher at St. Andrews. He was a thorough Puritan, a subscriber to the Book of Discipline, and more than once convened for non-conformity. He died in 1642. His controversy with Arminius is said to have occasioned the calling of the Synod of Dort. Cotton, while a student at Cambridge, was so powerfully wrought upon by his preaching, that "when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful ministry, by which his conscience had been so oft beleagured," but, when on his death-bed, Cotton declared that the expectation of meeting Perkins contributed "unto his readines to be gone." See *Life of Cotton*, in the *Magnalia*. In his Letter to Lord Say and Seal, 1636, Cotton says: "I am very apt to believe, what Mr. Perkins hath, in one of his prefatory pages to his golden chaine, that the word, and scripture of God doe conteyne a short *apologie*, or platforme, not only of theology, but also of other sacred sciences, (as he calleth them) attendants, and handmaids thereunto, which he maketh

ethicks, economics, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy." See *Hutchinson's Hist.*, 1, 496. Governor *Winthrop*, in his remarkable relation of his "Christian Experience," refers to Perkins. See *Life and Letters of Winthrop*, 1630-1649, p. 168.

^m Randall Bates, a zealous non-conformist, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and committed to the Gatehouse, where he died, after an imprisonment of twenty months, in 1613. From a book which he wrote in prison his views appear to have been a compound of presbyterianism and independency. Cotton is the only authority for the statement respecting the manner of his death. *Brooks's Lives*, 2, 234.

ⁿ Dr. Richard Neill, successively bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and at last Archbishop of York, died Oct. 31, 1640. He was the son of a tallow-chandler, and his career justifies the severe remark of Hallam: "The system pursued by Bancroft and his imitators, bishops Neill and Laud, with the approbation of the King, for opposed to the healing counsels of Burleigh and Bacon, was just such as low-born and little-minded men, raised to power by fortune's caprice, are ever found to pursue." Hallam, *Cons. Hist. Eng.*, vol. 1, p. 395.

was repulsed with reproaches: And the life of his patient spilt by that rigor. He is therefore much mistaken, when he faith, *None of them suffered unto death.* And it is alike mistake, when he maketh M^r. Penry one of his witnesses unto the death for Separation. I have received it from M^r. Hilderfom^{ss} (a man of a thousand) that M^r. Penry did ingen-

^{ss} The Rev. Arthur Hilderfham, of Christ's College, Cambridge, was born in 1563, like Chaderton, of Roman Catholic parents. He was connected with the royal family, and the celebrated Cardinal Pole was his great uncle. After leaving the University he was settled at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where, with repeated interruptions he remained until his death, March 4, 1631. Hilderfham was an earnest non-conformist, but was so far opposed to Separation that he was called "the hammer of heretics." According to Lilly, the astrologer, he "dissented not from the Church of England in any article of faith; but only about wearing the surplice, baptising with the cross, and kneeling in the sacrament." See Brooks's Lives, 2, 376; Fuller's Worthies, 1, 164, and Church Hist., 111, 370. He was greatly esteemed by Cotton, who mentioned him with Amer and Preston, in his dying words. Whiting, in his life of Cotton, after speaking of his abounding hospitality, adds: "And especially his heart and doors were open to receive, as all that feared God, so especially godly ministers, which he most courteously entertained, and many other strangers besides. Only one minister, Mr. Hacket by name, which had got into the fellowship of famous Mr. Arthur Hilderfham, with many other godly ministers, and being acquainted with the secrets, betrayed them into the

prelates hands, this man, coming into Bolton, and meeting with Mr. Cotton, that good man had not the heart to speak to him, nor invite him to his house; which he said he never did to any stranger that he knew before, much less to any minister." See Young, Chronicles of Mass., p. 427.

Hubbard says: "It is certainly known that the old non-conformists, and good puritans of queen Elizabeth and king James his time, did in many things not symbolize with the Separatists, whose way and form of discipline was always disowned and disclaimed, yea publicly condemned by the writings of the learned non-conformists of that age, such as Mr. Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Hilderfham, that *malitus Brownistarum*, as he used to be called, especially as to their notions about Separation from the Church of England as antichristian." He adds, that when Higginson and others came to New England, "Mr. Hilderfham, upon their first removing, advised him and other ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government, before they came away from England. The which counsef, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconvenience that hath since fallen out, or at least have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles."

uously acknowledge before his death, That though he had not deserved death for any dishonour put upon the Queen, by that Booke¹⁴ (which was found in his study, and intended by himselfe to be presented to her own hand;) nor by the compiling of *Martin Marprelate*,¹⁵ (of both which he was falsly charged;) yet he confessed, he deserved death at the Queenes hand, for that he had seduced many of her loyall Subjects to a separation from bearing the Word of life in the Parish Churches. Which though himselfe had learned to discerne the evill thereof, yet he could never prevale to recover divers of her Subjects, whom he had seduced: and therefore the bloud of their soules, was now justly required at his hands.

Let the Examiner consider, whether he will own this M^r. Penry for one of his faithfull witnesseſſes hereafter; If he doe, let him endeavour to doe as he did, ſeekē to reduce thoſe soules whom he hath ſeduced from hearing the word of life: or elſe, let him confeſſe (as M^r. Penry did) the bloud of thoſe soules may justly be required at his hands, if M^r. Penries witneſſe be of waight with him.

Touching his other witneſſeſſes, to the death of M^r. Barrow,¹⁶

See Hubbard's Hist. of New England, in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d Series, 5, 118. In the laſt ſentencē there is an evident allusion to the charge that Baylie brought againſt Cotton.

¹⁴ The ſpecific charges againſt Penry were collected from an unpubliſhed address to the Queen, drawn up during his reſidence in Scotland, and deſigned to repreſent to her the true ſtate of religion, and the many abuſes in the church.

¹⁵ Among the anonymous pamphlets, inveighing againſt the prelacy, that were circuſted throughout the country, the moſt famous went under the name of *Martin Mar-prelate*. They were printed

on a moveable preſs, which was ſhifted to diſtinct parts of the country as the purſuit grew hot. The firſt appeared in 1588. In November of that year, the archbiſhop is direc'ted by a letter from the council to ſearch for and commit to priſon the authors and printers. Udal and Penry were arreſted in conſequenſe, but the authors were nev'er diſcovered. See Strype's Whigift, 1, 549, 551; Annals, III: 2, 102, 602, and trial of Sir Richard Knightley, in State Trials, 1, 1263.

¹⁶ Bradford enters into a full and earnel vindication of Barrow from these charges of Cotton. "Truly with due

this I can say, from the testimony of holy and blessed M^r. *Dod*,⁵⁰ who speaking of this M^r. *Barrow*, *God is not want* (faith he) *to make choice of men, infamous for grosse vices before* their calling, *to make them any notable instruments of Reformation after their Calling*. M^r. Barrow whilest he lived in Court, was wont to be a great *Gamster*, and *Dicer*, and often getting much by play, would boast, Vivo de die, in spem noctis, nothing ashamed to boast of his hopes of his nights lodgings in the bofomes of his Courtizens. As his spirit was high and rough before his reformation, so was it after, even to his death. When he stood under the Gibbet, he lift up his eyes, and Lord (faith he) if I be deceived, thou hast deceived [118] me: And so being hlopt by the hand of God, he was not able to proceed to speake any thing to purpose more, either to the glory of God, or to the edification of the people.

M^r. *Greenwood* (the Examiners last witnesse unto death) he indeed of all the rest was the more to be lamented, as being of a more tender, and conscientious spirit: but this have I

respect to such reverend men he it spoken, those things might well have been spared from putting in print, especially so long after his death, when not only he, but all his friends are taken out of the world, that might vindicate his name. That he was tainted with vices at the court before his conversion and calling, it is not very strange; and if he had lived and died in that condition, it is like he might have gone out of the world without any public brand on his name, and have passed for a tolerable Christian and member of the church. He had hurt enough done him, whilest he lived, by evil and cruel enemies; why should godly men be prejudiced to him after his death." After reciting some "public testimonies" concerning

him, Bradford adds, as a reason why Barrow had been "by so many asperfed," "It is not much to be marvelled at; for he was most plain in discovering the cruelty, fraud and hypocryfy of the enemies of the truth, and searching into the corruptions of the time, which made him abhorred of them; and peradventure something too harsh against the haltings of divers of the preachers and professors that he had to deal with in those times, who out of fear or weakness did not come so close up to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and grounds seemed to hold forth." See Bradford, "Dialogue," in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 429-435.

⁵⁰ See *ante*, p. 102, note 58.

heard reported of him by the same credible hands, That if he could have been fundred from M^r. *Barrow*, he was tractable to have been gained to the truth. But when the Examiner goeth on to make comparissons between the Sufferings of the Separatists, and of (thoſe he styleth) Puritans, in his Margent, and in his Booke. No comparisfon will hold from the Separatists to them, but a *Minori*. What compulsory banifhments have been put upon thoſe bleſſed and glorious lights, M^r. *Cartwright*, *Parker*, *Ames*? To ſay nothing of thoſe in *Scotland*, or *New-England*: When have the Prifons been vacants of ſome or other godly Ministers, and Profefſors? When will the Examiner ſhew forth alike company of his witness(es), to thoſe 300. Minifters (whom M^r. *Parker* compareth to the 300. Souldiers of *Gideon*) who in one ſtorme of perfecution, were ſome ſuspended, ſome excommunicated, ſome imprifoned, all of them deprived of their Miniftry, and of their maintenance? And provision made, that none might praetice Phyſicke, or teach Schoole, unleſſe they would accept a License with ſubſcription? So that of neceſſitie (had not the Lord been wiſer, and stronger then men) they muſt in remedieſſe miſery, they and theirs, have either begged, or starved; But that with the Lord there be bowells of mercy, and fatherly compaſſions, and with him are plenteous redemp‐tions, and provisions, and protec‐tions, when men fail.

The Examiner proceedeth (in his Answer) to tell us further, *That he beleeveth there bath hardly ever been a Conſcientious Separatift, who was not firſt a Puritan. For (as M^r. Canⁿ bath unanſwerably proved) the grounds and principles of*

⁸⁷ The accounts respecting this learned divine are ſomewhat conſlicting. That he was educated in the eſtabliſhed church and probably received episcopal ordination is agreed by all. But according to

Neal, he ſoon after joined the Separatifts, and became paſtor of Mr. Lathrop's congregation in London, and being driven by perfecution to Holland, was choſen paſtor of the Brownift congregation at

the Puritans against Bishops, and Ceremonies, and prophanesse of people professing Christ: and the necessarie of Christs flock and discipline, must necessarily (if truly followed) lead on to, and enforce a separation.

Reply. 1. If there were hardly ever any conscientious Separatist, who was not first a Puritan, then it seemeth, that if there be any Conscience in the Separatists, it was first wrought in them by the Ministers of those whom he calleth Puritans.
119] 2. Say it were true, that he pretendeth, That the principles and grounds of Puritanisme, did enforce Separation:) yet I doe not understand, what it maketh to the point in hand.

3. Neither doe I understand, how it suiteth with the Examiners profession who is wont to renounce all communion with Antichristian inventions, so frequently to take up into his mouth and pen the Nickname of Puritans: which was at first devised by *Sander^{ss}* the Jesuite, to cast a reproach

Amsterdam. The most recent biographer of Canne, on the other hand, maintains that the name by which his charge was designated, "The ancient English Church in Amsterdam," could scarcely have been the title of any Brownist congregation. The church of Canne was in fact part of the Church of England. He could not therefore at first have separated. According to the same writer, the critical position of Ames and Parker and others, within the Established Church, gave a greater acrimony to the treatment of Canne when he felt it his duty to separate. Canne returned to England in 1640, and formed the Broadmead church, in Bristol. He is said to have died at Amsterdam, in 1667. See Neal, 1, 437, 663; Brooks, 3, 332, and the Introductory Notice by Rev. Charles Stovel to the edition of the "Necessity of Separation," published by

the Hanford Knollys Society.

^{ss} The Rev. Nicholas Sanders, D. D., a very prominent Roman Catholic controversial writer, was educated at New College, Oxford, where he became fellow. On the accession of Elizabeth he went to Rome, and afterwards Cardinal Hohius, hearing of his ability, took him to the Council of Trent. Afterwards Sanders was settled in Louvain, and spent much of his time in writing against the Protestant divines. In 1579 he was sent as nuncio to Ireland, and taking part in the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, in 1583, he fled to the woods and died of hunger. According to Camden, Sanders "wandered up and down troubled in mind" on account of the failure of the plot. Cotton is in error in calling him a Jesuit. See Strype's Parker, 2, 168; Camden's Elizabeth, 290; Baylie's Dict. art. Sanders; Moreri, tome ix., art.

upon the persons and way of reformers, to render them suspicious and odious to the State. The righteous hand of the Lord struck him with madness who invented the name: nor doth he delight in them that delight to take up a reproach against the innocent.

4. How unanswerably M'. *Can* hath proved the necessity of Separation from their grounds and principles, I will not judge, because I have not seen his Booke.¹⁰ But to separate from the Churches of *England*, as no Churches, or false Churches, from their Ministry, as a false Ministry, from their Sermons as false worship, from their professors as no visible Saints. And to prove all this out of the Principles and grounds of those holy Saints of God, whom he misnameth Puritans, will require a strong efficacy of delusions, to make it appear probable to a bad and judicious spirit, that is not forestalled with prejudice, or partialitie.

Sanders. The statement that Sanders lost his reason is open to doubt. See Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1, 469.

I have searched in vain for any confirmation of Cotton's statement that Sanders was the first to give the name which was destined to become so famous. Strype, who makes frequent mention of Sanders, nowhere alludes to this circumstance. He simply states that in the year 1571, those who would not comply with the established orders of the church, were commonly called Puritans. Strype's Parker, 2, 65. Camden, describing the movements of Coleman, Benson, and others, in 1568, adds, "which first began pretentiously to be known by the odious name of *Puritanæ*." Camden's Elizabeth, p. 107. Fuller assigns an earlier date. According to his statement "the odious name of the Puritans" first began to be used in the year 1564, "and the grief

had not been great had it ended in the same," Church History of Britain, Book ix, p. 67. Neal goes even further back, and finds the term used in 1559. See Hist. Puritans, 1, 91. Marston says: "No clear account of the origin of this now famous title has been handed down." History of the Early Puritans, p. 3.

Cotton's account of the Roman Catholic origin of the name Puritan may seem to derive some confirmation from the words which Hopkins puts into the mouth of a Roman Catholic priest, executed at York, May 10, 1566, (see Hopkins's Puritans, vol. 1, p. 339,) but there is no authority for any such use of the name. See Strype's Parker, 1, 141. The references to Strype, in this note, are to the octavo edition.

¹⁰ "Necessitas of Separation," published in 1634, and republished by the Hanford Knollys Society.

But the Examiner proceedeth in his Answer to enquire, *What shoulde be the Reason, why the Separatist (who witnesseth against the Root of the Constitution it selfe) shoulde finde more favour then the Puritan, or Non-conformist?*

And he telleth us,

Doublefesse the reasons are evident: 1. Because most of the Separatists have been poore and low, and not such gainfull Customers to the Bishops, their Courts, and Officers. M^r. Ainsworth bimselfe (though a worthy instrument of Gods praise) lived upon nine pence in the weeke with roots boyled,^{or} &c.

The Rev. Henry Ainsworth was a distinguished leader of the Brownists, but little is known of him until he became a resident of Holland, which was probably at the time of the general banishment of his sect in 1593. He lived at Amsterdam, when he became teacher of the church of which Johnfon was pastor. In the midst of the unhappy controversies which afterwards tore this church in pieces, and in which the Rev. John Smyth was so conspicuous, (*See ante*, p. 58, note 32, and compare Cotton, *Way of Cong. Churches Cleared*, p. 6,) he maintained a reputation for great meekness and piety, and gained the respect of all parties by his uncommon learning and abilities. His great work, the "Annotations of the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon," was published in 1612, and the following year. The circumstances of his death, which took place about the close of the year 1622, afford a striking illustration of his character. Having found a diamond of great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it, and when the owner, a Jew claimed it, and offered any acknowledgement, Mr. Ainsworth, though very poor, would accept nothing

but a conference with some of the Rabbis, upon the Messianic prophecies, which the Jew not being able to procure, it was thought, caused Ainsworth to be poisoned. According to another account, he was poisoned by the Jews for vanquishing them in the discussion. *Brooks's Lives*, 2, 229.

Cotton seems to have regarded Ainsworth with more favor than he did most of the Separatists. He says of him: "Mr. Ainsworth, a man of a more modest and humble spirit, and diligently studious of the Hebrew Text, hath not been unuseful to the Church in his Exposition of the Pentateuch, especially of Moses his Rituals, notwithstanding some uncircumcised, and ungrounded Rabbinical observations recited, but not refuted. For though in simplicity of heart, in some things he went astray: yet the way he walked in, did not suffer disgrace by him, nor by the might and evidence of God's hand upon him." *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, p. 6. Ainsworth was author of the version of the Psalms long used by the church at Plymouth.

^{or} This unqualified statement of Williams leaves a false impression. See Bradford's explanation, *pp*, p. 123, note 99.

Reply. In part I will not deny some truth and weight in this reason; But take it for granted, and it doth but confirme what I said, that the Separatist found more favour then the Non-conformist, whatsoeuer the reason was.

The second reason that he giveth is, *That it is a principle in nature to preferre a professed enemy, before a pretended friend.* The Separatists [120] have been looked at by the Bishops, and their adherents, as knowne and professed enemies: whereas the Puritans have professed subjection, and submitted to the Bishops, their Courts, their Officers, their Common Prayer, and worships: And yet (the Bishops have well knowne) with no greater affection, then the Israelites bore the Ægyptians cruell task-masters.

Reply. 1. What the Non-conformists did beare, it was no more then they thought they might beare with a good Conscience, according to the light they had received. If they did beare more, then what in Conscience they judged lawfull to be borne, they had no reason to beare with themselves in so doing.

But if the Bishops bore the lesse with them in such their subjection, it was because they looked at them not as pretended friends, but as more dangerous enemies: as knowing both that the Lord was with them, (which made *Saul* the more afraid of *David*, 1 Sam. 18. 28, 29.) as also that the grounds which they gave of their judgement and practise, were more agreeable to Scripture, and to the judgement of all reformed Churches, and therefore more likely in time to prevale, to the utter overthrow of their usurped Hierarchy. But as for the Separatists, the Bishops did not discerne, either the Lord going forth in like fort with them, or their grounds so likely to subvert their freehold. Though the Separatists struck at the roote of the Constitutions of their Churches,

(which was indeed a greater blow then to strike at the roote of Episcopacy;) yet because the Episcopacy saw that the Separatists struck at the things of Christ, together with themselves, they knew such stroakes would not much hurt their standing.

The next word which the Examiner answereth, is unto that I said; *God bath not prospered the way of Separation, neither with peace amongst themselves, nor with growth of grace.*

His Answer is; 1. *That want of peace may befall the truest Churches of the Lord Jesus, as them at Antioch, Corinth, Galatia.*

Reply. The distraffion at *Antioch* was soone healed by the Counsell of the Synod at *Hierusalem*, which is a way of peace which the Churches of the rigid Separation have not knowne, nor will condescend unto: which makes their dissentions destitute of hopes of reconciliation without separation one from another. The like may be said of the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*. I [121] doe not read their differences were healed by Separation, but by listning to Apostolicall Counsell.

2. His second Answer is, *that it is a common Character of a false Church (maintained by the Smiths and Cutlers shop) to enjoy peace, none daring for feare of civil punishment to question, or differ, &c.*

Reply. Though it be a common Character of a false Church, to enjoy a forced and violent peace: yet it is a peculiar Character of a true Church, to enjoy holy peace with God, and one with another, which where it is wanting, there is something else wanting, either in their Faith or Order.

3. His third Answer is, *That Gods people in that way have sometimes long enjoyed sweet peace, and soule contentment, in England, Holland, New-England, and other places, &c.*

Reply. The Answer had been more cleare and evident, if he had named those Churches, who have long enjoyed such peace in that way: in that way I say, of rigid Separation, separating from the Churches of *England*, as altogether false, in their Constitution, Ministry, worship, and therefore refusing to heare the word in the best of the Parish Assemblies. It is a wise Proverb of a wiser than *Soloman*, *The back-slidēr in heart* (from any Truth or way of God) *shall be filled with his owne wayes*. They that separate from their brethren further then they have just caufe, shall at length find cause (or at least thinke they have found cause) just enough to separate one from another. I never yet heard of any instance to the contrary, either in *England*,⁹² or *Holland*.⁹³ And for

⁹² Cotton probably alludes to the difficulty which arose in the Separatist congregation, in London, of which the Rev. John Lathrop was pastor. A majority of the church having declined to express any opinion upon the question whether parish churches were true churches, the more rigid minority requested dismission, and uniting with some who questioned the lawfulness of infant baptism, formed, according to Neal, in 1613, the earliest Baptist church in England. Neal, 1, 663. But a church on essentially the same basis was formed by Hubbard, in 1621, and both these churches not only admitted Pedobaptists as members, but also to the ministry. The earliest church founded in England on exclusive Baptist principles was probably that in Devonshire Square, formed by William Kiffin, in the year 1653. See Introduction to *Cane's Necesity of Separation*, by Rev. Charles Stove, p. xix.

⁹³ The unhappy difficulties in the English church at Amsterdam, in which Ainsworth became involved, first with

Francis Johnson and afterwards with the Rev. John Smyth, have been alluded to in previous notes. It is, however, probable that these difficulties have been much exaggerated by the enemies of the Separatists.

Baylie goes so far as to assert, in his "Diffusive," that the Church at Leyden was "well neare brought to nought" by divisions, "till some of them went over to *New-England*, and purfused their neighbours who sat down with them in *New-Plymouth* to erect with them a Congregation after their Separate way;" but Cotton denies this, and says that "the Church at *Leyden* was in peace, and free from any division, when they took thoughts of tranporting themselves into *America* with common consent." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 14. Bradford, the highest authority on this point, says: "And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days, without any considerable differences, or any disturbances that grew thereby, but such as

New-England, there is no such Church of the Separation at all that I know of." That separate Church (if it may be called

was easily healed in love; and so they continued until with mutual consent they removed into New England." Bradford's "Dialogue," in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 456. In reply to the same charge of Baylie, Edward Winslow says: "For I persuade myself, never people upon earth, lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we, the church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humor, but upon joint and serious deliberations, after fecking the mind of God by fasting and prayer; whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended." See Winslow's "Brief Narration," in Young's *Chron. of the Pilgrims*, p. 380.

The toleration extended to all comers in Holland gained for that country little favor at the hands of some Massachusetts writers. Says Johnson, "Yee Dutch come out of your hods-podge, the great mingle-mangle of Religion among you hath caused the Churches of Christ to increase so little with you, standing at a stay like Corne among Weeds." Wonder-working Providence, pp. 32, 33. And Ward, who in the early part of his life was on the Continent, evidently has in mind some Dutch city when he says: "I lived in a City where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Re-

ligion of that place was but motley and meagre, their affections Leopardlike." See "The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America," p. 5.

"The Church of Plymouth never professed principles of rigid separation. Cotton adduces Elder Brewster's distrust of Williams on page 4, ante. The ground of this distrust was, lest Williams should "run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the Sc-Baptist, at Amsterdam, had done." See Morton's Memorial, p. 151. In reply to Baylie's statement, quoted in the last note, that the Pilgrims had erected a church in "the separate way," Cotton says: "Neither did that company which came over to *Plymouth*, erect here a New-Church (as the Dissuader taketh it,) for by consent of the Church which they left, they came over in Church-estate, and only renewed their Covenant when they came hither." See Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 16. And much more strongly to the same effect, Edward Winslow, who, in his "Brief Narration," earnestly clears up the "gross mistake" that "the Church of Plymouth, which went first from Leyden, were Schismatics, Brownists, rigid Separatists, &c." *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 387, 388. In the celebrated farewell discourse of Robinson, preferred by Winslow, in this passage, which sets in clear light the attitude of the Pilgrims with reference to Separation: "Another thing he commendeth to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownist, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious and the

a Church) which separated with M^r. Williams, first broke into a division about a small occasion (as I have heard) and then broke forth into *Anabaptisme*, and then into *Antibaptisme*, and *Familisme*, and now finally into no Church at all."

But whereas I said, God had not prospered the way of the Separation, as not with peace amongst themselves, so neither with growth of Grace,

He answereith, for growth of Grace, though some false brethren have crept in, yet Satan himselfe cannot but confess that multitudes of Gods witneses (reproached with the names of Brownists, and Anabaptists) have kept themselves from the errours of the wicked, and doe [122] grow in Grace, and knowledge of our Lord Jesus, &c.

Reply. It is an unwelcome Subject to goe about to convince others of want of growth in Grace, especially, when wee speake of Churches, and that before wee have in a more private manner dealt with them. I looke at it as more seasonable to provoke our owne Churches, to more growth of Grace at home. For even true Churches (as that of Ephesus, Revel. 2.) may decay in their first love.

Onely thus much I would say, the first Inventor of that way which is called *Brownisme*, from whom the Sect tooke its name,⁹⁵ it is well knowne that he did not grow in Grace,

professors of it to the Christian world. And to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so advised us by all means to endeavour to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz, how near we

might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them."⁹⁶ See *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 397, 398. For the light in which the Pilgrims were viewed by the first settlers of Massachusetts, see Endicott's letter to Bradford, in *Morton's Memorial*, p. 146.

⁹⁵ Compare *ante*, p. 45, note 21.

⁹⁶ Robert Brown, of whom it has been justly said that "he takes a place in history from his connection with a great

but fell back first from his owne way, to take a Parsonage of a Parish-Church in *England* in *Northamptonshire*, called a Church : God so in a strange (yet wise) providence ordering, that he who had utterly renounced all the Churches in *England*, as no Church should afterwards accept of one Parish-Church amongst them, and it called a Church," and from religious movement, which he by no means originated, and which he did quite as much to prejudice as to promote," (Palfrey, Hist. N. E., i, 123,) was born of an ancient and honorable family, being nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. He was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and having received ordination in the Church of England, preached for some time, with reputation in London, and afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571, he was cited before the high commissioners for non-conformity, and soon afterwards espoused the most extreme principles of Separation. After having been, according to his own account, imprisoned two and thirty times, he fled to Holland, and gathered a church, according to his own model, at Middleburg, Zealand. In 1589 he returned to England, and having renounced his principles of Separation, became rector of a church in Northamptonshire. Here he led an idle and irregular life, and died in 1630, in the 81st year of his age. He died in gaol, to which he had been committed for striking the constable of his parish. Neal, i, 251; Fuller's Church History, B. ix. p. 167.

Cotton remarks: " Yet this backsliding of Brown, from that way of Separation, is a just reason why the Separatists may disclaim denomination from him, and refuse to be called after his name, Brownists. To speak with reason, if

any be justly to be called Brownists, it is only such as revolt from Separation to Formality, and from thence to prophaneness." Way Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

To the assertion of Cotton that Brown was "the first Inventor of that way which is called Brownisme," Bradford replies: "No, verily; for, as one answers this question very well in a printed book, almost forty years ago, that the prophets, apostles and evangelists have in their authentic writings laid down the grounds thereof; and upon that ground is their building reared up and surely settled. Moreover, many of the martyrs, both former and latter, have maintained it, as is to be seen in the Acts and Monuments of the Church. Also, in the days of Queen Elizabeth there was a separated church, whereof Mr. Fitts was pastor, and another before that in the time of Queen Mary, of which Mr. Rough was pastor or teacher, and Cudbert Simpson a deacon, who exercised amongst themselves, as other ordinances, so church censures, as excommunications, &c., and professed and practised that cause before Mr. Brown wrote for it." Bradford's Dialogue, p. 442. Cotton himself, in his reply to Baylie, acknowledges all that Bradford here claims. Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 4.

" The Parish of which Brown became rector, after he had renounced Separation, was named A-church, which Cot-

thence he fell to Organs,⁹ in the Temple of his owne Church (as I have been credibly informed) and from thence to discord with his best hearers, and bitter persecution of them at the last. It is not Gods usuall manner of dealing to leave any of the first publishers or restorers of any Truth of his to such fearefull Apostacy from his Grace, though I Judge not his finall Estate.

I will not rehearse what I read in printed Books of the unkind, and ungracious, and unbrotherly dealings of some of note in that way, whilst they maintained the rigor of it. That which the Examiner himselfe hath rehearsed in this very chapter, may suffice to shew what growth of Godlinesse was found in that Church, the Officer whereof himselfe styleth a worthy Instrument of Gods prayse: and surely he was a man that deserved well of the Church, for sundry of his Learned, and painfull, and profitable labours. One would hope, that where the Lord blesseth a people with growth of godlinessse, the people would grow best under the best Ministers of that way. M^r. Aynworths name is of best esteeme (without all exception) in that way, who refused Communion with hearing in *England*. And if his people suffered him to

ton calls "a reall check to his error, who formerly counted every Church in *England* no church," Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, p. 5.

⁹ In the eyes of Cotton this seems to have been one of the most convincing proofs of Brown's depravity. The objection of the Puritans to instrumental music is well known. Compare the following: "Organs and other church music they call idol service, because it serves not to any edification, but draws the mind to carnal delight; besides, this was a part of the Levitical service which

is now ceased in Christ, and for many hundred years after the apostles musical instruments were not known to the Church, till in the year 653, the old serpent, by pope Vitellianus, brought up the organs, and to have them go, about the same time, that heaf, with Gregory and Gelasius, (two monsters like himself,) ordained defcant, forward and backward, plain song and pricklong, and thus was the music made up, jull as the devil would have it." See Canne's "Necessarie of Separation proved by the Non-conformists' Principles," p. 111.

live upon nince pence a week, with roots boyled (as the Examiner told us) surely either the people were growne to a very extreme, low [123] Estate, or else the growth of their godlinesse was growen to a very low ebb.⁹⁹

To CHAP. XXIIII.

IN his 24. and 25. Chapters, the Examiner giveth Answer to that speech in my Letter, *That such (of the Separation) as erring through simplicity and tenderneſſe, have growne in Grace, have growne also to diſcern their lawfull Liberty for the bearing of the word from the English Preachers.* This I speake with respect to M^r. Robiſon,¹⁰⁰ and to his Church,

⁹⁹ Bradford gives this explanation:—“The truth is, their condition for the most part was for ſome time very low and hard. It was with them as, if it ſhould be related, would hardly be believed. And no marvel. For many of them had lain long in priſons, and then were banished into New foundland, where they were abuſed, and at laſt came into the Low Countries, and wanting money, trades, friends or acquaintances, and languages to help themſelves, how could it be otherwife? The report of Mr. Ainsworth was near thoſe times, when he was newly come out of Ireland with others poor, and being a ſingle young man and very ſtudious, was content with a little. And yet, to take off the aſperion from the people in that particular, the chief and true reaſon thereof is miſtaken; for he was a very modeſt and bathful man, and concealed his wants from others, until ſome ſuſpected how it was with him, and preſſed

him to ſee how it was; and after it was known, ſuch as were able mended his condition; and when he married afterwards, he and his family were comfortably provided for. But we have ſaid enough of theſe things. They had few friends to comfort them, nor any arm of flesh to ſupport them; and if in ſome things they were too rigid, they are rather to be pitied, conſidering their times and ſufferings, than to be blaſted with reproach poſterity.” See Bradford’s “Dialogue,” in *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 440, 441.

¹⁰⁰ The Rev. John Robiſon, the celebrated paſtor of the Pilgrim church at Scrooby, and at Leyden, was born in 1575, and probably received his education at the University of Cambridge. He died at Leyden, March 1, 1625.

Robiſon began his career by profeſſing the moſt extreme principles of Separation. The change in his views alluded to above, is thus deſcribed by Cot-

who as he grew to many excellent gifts both of Grace and nature: so he grew to acknowledge, and in a Judicious, and godly discourse to approve and defend the lawfull Liberty of hearing the word from the godly Preachers of the Parishes in *England*.¹⁰¹

But in this 24. Chapter the Examiner answereth nothing against the truth of my speech. Onely he telleth of *four* sorts of *Backsliders from sundry Truthes of God, whom be bath*

ton: "As a fruit of his studious inquisition after the Truth, hee reported (as I have understood) to many judicious Divines in *England* for the clearing of his Scruples, which inclined him to separation: and when hee came into Holland, hee addressed himselfe to Doctor *Amer*, and Mr. *Parker*: rather preventing them with fecking counsell and satisfaction, than waiting for their compassation. But as they excelled in learning and godlinesse, so in compassion and brotherly love also; and therefore as they discerned his weanedesse from selfulnesse, so did they more freely communicate light to him, and received also some things from him, the fruit of which was (through the grace of Christ) that the Dissuader himselfe confesseth, 'hee came back indeed one halfe of the way: Acknowledging the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of *England*, in the Word and Prayer: but not in the Sacraments and Discipline, which was (faith he) a faire Bridge, at least a faire Arch of a Bridge for union.' Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 8.

Edward Winflow tellis to the same effect: "For his doctrine, I living three years under his ministry, before we began the work of plantation in New England, it was always against separation

from any of the churches of Christ; professing and holding communion both with the French and Dutch churches, yea, tendering it to the Scotch also, as I shall make appear more particularly anon; even holding forth how wary persons ought to be in separating from a Church, and not till Christ the Lord departed wholly from it, man ought not to leave it, only to bear witness against the corruption that was in it.

"Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union, so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hateful to him." See *Winflow's Briefe Narration*, in *Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 388, 389.

¹⁰¹ This discourse was entitled "A Treatise of the lawfulness of hearing of the ministers in the Church of England; penned by that learned and reverend divine, John Robinton, late pastor to the English church of God at Leyden. Printed according to the copy that was found in his study after his decease; and now published for the common good. Anno 1634."

*observed to be left of God to Jad and exemplary spirituall Judge-
ments.*

But because he speaketh of such as have decayed in grace, and I speake of such as grow in grace, his instances come not neere the point in hand. I easily believe that Hypocrites may grow from evill to worse deceiving and being deceived: 2 Tim. 3. 13. But a sincere humble Christian, though he may start aside for a season, yet Christ is not wont to leave him so: but feeketh up every stray-sheep of his, and bringeth them to heare and know his voyce in the mouthes of his Shepheards.

To C H A P. X X V.

IN this 25. chapter, because I had said, as they *have growne
in Grace, they have growne in discerning their lawfull Lib-
erty to heare the word from the English Preachers.*

He tells us, *he might bere engage bimselfe in a controverſie
with me, but that neither the Treatise will permit: nor is there
need, ſince it hath pleafed the Father of Lights to ſhirre up the
ſpirit of a faithfull [124] witneſſe of his Truth, in this par-
ticular, M^r. Canne, to make a large and faithfull Reply to a
Booke printed in M^r. Robinsons name, tending to prove ſuch a
lawfull Liberty.*

Reply. M^r. Cann is unknowne unto me, and his Booke¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ The title of Mr. Canne's book was, "A Stay against Straying: wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinſon, he undertakes to prove the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England, 1642." The "Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England,

proved by the Nonconformists Principles," which has been before referred to, was published in 1634, and was designed elſpecially as a reply to Dr. Ames.

It is greatly to be regretted that not one of the biographers of Williams has taken pains to trace his connection with

also: which I have not had the Liberty to get, in these remote ends of the world. I shall willingly bestow the reading of them if they come to my hands, and God give opportunity, especially if I see the spirit of a faithfull witness in them, which the Examiner extolleth. Only I am apt to thinke, as young men grow in yeares, and gifts, they will also grow up to the mellow-mildnesse, and softnesse and moderation of riper age as M^r. *Robinson* in many things did.

Now from the name of *English Preachers* (which I used in my speech) the Examiner though he feeme to decline the engaging of himselfe in a controversie about hearing of them, yet he taketh occasion to enter into a threefold discourse about them.

The first in (this chapter) concerning this title, English Preachers. Secondly, concerning bearing them in chapter 26. Thirdly concerning their calling in chap. 27.

The summe of his discourse about the title of these Preachers, standeth in these particulars.

First, that M^r. Cotton acknowledgeth, the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, to Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Overseers, Elders: and that their proper worke is, to feed and governe, a truly converted, boly, and godly people, gathered into a flock or Church-Estate.

And not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, make Disciples, which the Apostles, and Evangelists properly were: so that according to M^r. Cottons confessions, English Preachers are not

the Separatists. From his arrival in New England, when he "refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there," until the day when he renounced the communion of his own

church in Salem, the question of Separation was evidently foremost in his thoughts, but the precise nature of his views, and their relation to similar views of other men, have never been exhibited. What seemed the vagary of an individual was in fact the logical conclusion forced on many minds.



Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Elders, but Preachers of glad newes (Evangelists) men sent to convert and gather Churches, (Apostles,) &c.

Secondly, yet the Examiner confesseth, that at the Pastors feeding his flock, and at the Prophets prophecying in the Church, an unbeliever coming in may be convinced, &c. but this is accidental, &c.

Thirdly, the Examiner acknowledgeth that it pleased God to worke personall Repentance in the hearts of thousands in Germany, England, Low-Countries, France, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Yea, and who knoweth but in Italy, Spaine, and Rome, alio, &c. but all this hath been under the notion of Ministers feeding their flocks, [125] not of Preachers sent to convert the unconverted, and unbelieving.

Reply. 1. Though I acknowledge the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, to be Pastors and Teachers: yet it is farre from me to thinke (howsoever the Examiner against my mind reporteth my mind otherwise) that they are not properly Preachers, to convert, beget, or make Disciples, &c.

For first though the worke of ordinary Ministers were not to convert, but to feed soules: yet their act of feeding is properly exercised by preaching the word. *Timothy* (as a Minister) is taught of *Paul* how to behave himselfe in the house of God which is the Church of God, 1 Tim. 3. 15.

And this he gave him in charge (as one great part of his worke) to preach the word *in season and out of season*, 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. Besides they were neither Evangelists, nor Apostles, surely (for then they could not have been so miscarried) but the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, (Pastors, and Teachers of Churches) of whom *Paul* speaketh, (Pbil. 1. 15, 16.) Some preach Christ faith he, even of envie, and strife, and some of good will: The one preach Christ of contention not sincerely: the other of Love.

Againe, *Paul saith the Lord bath ordained, that they who preach the Gospel shoud live of the Gospel, 1 Cor. 9. 14.* Speaketh he that only of Apostles, and Evangelists onely, and not of ordinary Church-Officers? of all doubtlesse, according to *Gal. 6. 6.*

Moreover, what are Preachers but publishers of the Gofpel, of glad tydings of the word of God? for so saith the Apostle, *preach the word, 2 Tim. 4. 2.* And what is preaching the word, but explication and application of it? and is not the explication and application of the word, as fit to feed soules, as to convert them?

Secondly, when he makes it to be not the proper worke of *Pastors, and Teachers, to preach for conversion, but accidentall only, and counteth and calleth it a most preposterous worke for ordinary Ministers to preach for conversion, &c.*

He must needs give me leave to dissent from him, my Reasons be 1. from the institution and worke of the Ministry to the worlds end, whereof one is, to make Disciples, *Matth. 28. 19, 20.*

Say not, that is a peculiar Act of the Apostolick Office: for the Lord Jesus speaketh of three Acts: making Disciples, Baptizing, [126] Teaching: and in the exercise of these he promiseth to be with his Apostles, and their successors unto the end of the world, *ver. 20.* Successours I say, for the Apostles themselves were not to continue themselves in the exercise of those Acts to the end of the world, in their owne persons, but in their successors, the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel.

Secondly, from the end why Christ gave Pastors, and Teachers, as well as Apostles and Evangelists: which was for the worke of the Ministry, for the gathering together of the Saints, as well as for the building of them up to a perfect man, *Ephes. 4. 11, 12, 13.*

Thirdly from the Estate of the Church, wherein it selome or never falleth out, but some Hypocrites are found: and besides them, many Infants, and these had need of converting Grace.

Fourthly, from the ordinary way of Conversion, which is by hearing the word, and the word preached by a Minister sent, *Rom. 10. 14. to 17.* either therefore there must be no conversion of soules after the decease of the Apostles and Evangelists: or those who are to be converted, must be converted by private Christians, or by the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel, the successors of the Apostles; but surely not the first: for God will have in every age some or other converted to his Grace to praise his name throughout all Generations.

Not the second: for they shall not be ordinarily converted by private Christians, for the Apostle faith, *Faith cometh by bearing, and bearing by a Preacher, and him sent.* Therefore the third way remaineth, that Faith is intended of God to be wrought from age to age by the ordinary Ministry of the Gospel.

If the Conversion of soules were accidentall to the worke of the Minister, it were then *præter scopum efficiens*, besides the intent of the worker. But it is neither beside the intention of the principall worker, God (*for he worketh all things according to the Counsell of his owne will, Ephes. 1. 11.*) nor besides the intention of the Minister, for as hath been said, it is one maine intent and end of his Office, to make Disciples, and gather Saints; and *Solomon maketh it an act of wisdome, and therefore not an act of accidentall casuality to winne soules, Prov. 11. 30.*

If it be said why are they called Pastors, if they be also Fathers? Pastors are for feeding, not for begetting.

127] *Answe.* Pastors are also Fathers: and though they be

called Pastors, yet the ordinary Ministers of the Gospel have other Titles also, which imply more then feeding: as they are called Teachers, and Teachers of the ignorant, *Rom.* 2. 20. (to minister saving knowledge to them) as well as of men of understanding. And Elders in the greek Language have their name from Embassadors, *Ηπαστυτερος* an Elder, from *πρέσβης* an Embassador, and it is one worke of heavenly Embassadors to beseech men to be reconciled unto God, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. yea and Pastors themselves (whose worke is properly to feed) their feeding is with the word of Life, which is able to quicken dead soules to life, as to nourish living soules to growth in Christ Jesus. The whole worke of Peters Apostolicall calling was wrapped up in a Pastorall name, and worke, *John* 21. 15, 16, 17.

Thoſe two Reaſons therefore are voyd of true and found reason, which moved the Examiner to enter upon this *passage*. *First*, because (faith he) *ſo many excellent and worthy persons mainly preach for Conversion, and yet account themſelves fixed and conſtant Minifters to particular Congregations, &c.*

Secondly, that in these great Earth-quakes of all Estates civil and ſpirituall, ſuch a Miniftiry might be ſought after, whose proper worke might be preaching for converting of soules to Christ.

For by that which hath been ſaid may plainly appeare that thoſe conſtant Minifters who mainly preach for Converſion (ſo be it they attend, not to that onely, but to building up alſo) they doe herein attend to a proper worke of their calling: and now to looke for another new Miniftiry (ſay of Apoftles or Evangelifts) to attend converſion of soules onely, is to looke for a bleſſing which the Lord hath not promiſed: and beſides himſelfe hath ordained ſufficient ordinary meaneſ for that end, as hath been ſhewed both here, and in ſome former paſſages of this Treatife.

To C H A P. XXVI.

IN this Chapter the Examiner falleth upon the seconde part of discourse, about English Preachers, to wit, about the lawfulnesse of hearing of them, and though he said before in the former [128] chapter, *he would not engage himselfe in this Controversie*: yet here he giveth a double Argument against it.

His first Argument is, from my testimony, which how much he weigheth, is better knowne to himselfe then to me.

M^r. Cotton (faith he) *himselfe maintaineth, that the dispensing of the word in a Church-state, is Christ's feeding of his flock,* Cant. 1. 8. *Christ's kissing of his Spouse,* Cant. 1. 2. *Christ's embracing of his Spouse in the marriage bed,* Cant. 1. 16. *Christ's nursing of his Children at his wives breasts,* Cant. 4. *And is there no communion between the Shepheard and his sheep? the Husband and the wife in chaste kisses and embraces? the Mother and the child at the breasts?*

Answer. 1. The dispensing of the word in a Church-State (that is by Church-Officers to Church-members, united together in Church-State) it is indeed an expreſſion of familiar and deare Communion between Christ and his Church, as between the husband and his spouse, between the nursing mother and the child, and between the shepheard and his flock: But suppose Pagans and Indians should ordinarily frequent our Church-Assemblies (as they are wont to doe in hearing the word) doth he think, I would maintaine, that there is the like spirituall and familiar Communion between Christ, and them, as between Christ, and his Church?

Answer. 2. Besides, the question is not what communion Christ may have with a stranger in the hearing of the word in the Assembly of his Church: but what communion there is between the Officer of the Church, who preacheth the

word and the stranger. Christ out of his soveraigne grace may dispense himselfe to the stranger in what relation he pleafeth; hee may make the word both as spirituall seed, and as food to him, and fo may declare himself both a father, and a Pastor, and husband, and a mother to him; and yet no such Church-relation passe between the Church-Officer, and the stranger.

Answer. 3. Suppose there did grow some spirituall relation between the Church-Officer, and the stranger, (as God might so bleife his Ministryer, as to make him a spirituall Father, and feeder to the stranger :) yet this Relation is not between the Preacher and the stranger in respect of his Office, but in respect of his gift, as I declared above.

129] The reason of the difference is evident :

1. Church-relation, between a Church-Officer, and Church member, is constant, and permanent, and not to be dissolved, but by consent of the Church : but this relation between the Preacher and stranger is transient, and the intercourse of the exercise of their relation easily changeable, at the discretion of the stranger, without the consent, or cognizance of the Church.

2. Church relation between an Officer and a member, carrieth on the duties of Church-worke between them unto full accomplishment. If any offence grow between an Officer, and a member, the one hath power to deale with the other in a Church-way unto a perfect healing: but there is not the like power or liberty, either in preacher, or stranger, so to proceed one with another, in case of any such offence.

The Examiners second Argument is taken also from mine own confession, as if there were no waighty Argument to be found in this case, but what might be gathered up from the weaknesse, or unwarinessse of my expreſſions. But thankes be

to God, that hath so guided my words, that no such advantage can justly be taken from them, as to countenance so ungodly an error.

M^r. Cotton (faith he) confesseth, that the fellowship in the Gospel, (Phil. 1. 5.) is a fellowship or Communion in the Apostles doctrine, Community, breaking of bread, and prayer, in which the first Church continued, Acts 2. 46. All which overthoweth the doctrine of lawfull participation of the word and prayer in a Church-estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate, in the breaking of bread, or seales.

Answ. If this be all the Conclusion that he striveth for, that participation of the word and prayer, is not lawfull in a Church-estate, where it is not lawfull to communicate in the seales, I shall never contend with him about it. I should never thinke it lawfull there to enter into a Church-estate, where I thought it lawfull onely to partake in hearing, and prayer, and not in the seales also. But this is that I deny, A man to participate in a Church-estate, where he partaketh onely in hearing and prayer, before and after Sermon; and joyneth not with them, neither in their Covenant, nor in the seales of the Covenant.

The third part of the Examiners discourse touching *English* Preachers, taketh up this 27 Chapter: and it is concerning the calling and commission of the *English* Preachers.

M^r. Cotton himselfe (faith he) and others most eminent in New-England, have freely confess:

First, That notwithstanding their profession of Ministry in Old England: yet in New-England (till they received a Call-

ing from a particular Church) that they were but private Christians.

Secondly, *That Christ Jesus hath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but such as they practise in New-England, and therefore consequently, that all other, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly persons, is none of Christ's.*

As first, a Calling and Commission from the Bishops.

Secondly, From a Parish of naturall and unregenerate persons.

Thirdly, From some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church-fellowship after the Parish way.

Fourthly, That eminent gifts and abilities are but qualifications fitting or preparing for a Call to an Office, 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.

All which premises duly considered, be defireth that M . Cotton, and all that feare God, might try what will abide the fiery Triall in this particular, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed in flaming fire, &c.

Reply. It is a weake cause that is maintained onely by the testimonies of adversaries, and them either mistaken or falsified.

It is in him either a mistake, or a fraudulent expression of our mindes, to say, *That notwithstanding our former profession of Ministry in Old England, yet (till we received a Calling from a particular Church) we were but private Christians.*

This speech may be so conceived, as if notwithstanding our former profession of Ministry in *Old England*: yet indeed we confess, our Ministry there was no Ministry: and this is a false expression of our mindes.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Opinions respecting this question were, however, far from being as harmonious as the language of Cotton would imply. Says Thomas Lechford, who took especial pains to acquaint himself

with the ecclesiastical theories prevailing in New England: "Some Ministers have there heretofore, as I have heard, disclaimed the power of their Ministry received in *England*, but others among

It may be also conceived, that we confess, we had no calling from a particular Church, till we came to *New-England*. And this is also a false expression of our mindes likewise.

Or it may be conceived, that notwithstanding our former profession [131] and exercise of Ministry in *Old England*: yet being castt out from thence by the usurping power of the Prelacy, and dismissed (though against their wills) by our Congregations, (save only such as came along with us) we looked at our selves as private members, and not Officers to any Church here, untill one or other Church might call us unto Office. This fence of our profession is true, but nothing availeable to the Examiners intendment.

Secondly, It is in him another mistake, or else a fraudulent exprefſſion of our mindes, when he faith, *Wee bold and freely confesse, that Chriſt Jeſus hath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but ſuch as we practice in New-England: And that any other Calling to the Ministry, which is not from a particular Congregation of godly perſons, is none of Chriſts.*

Though we doe beleieve and professe the calling which we have received to the Ministry in *New-England*, to be of Christ: yet

1. It is an insolent phraſe that favoureth of more arrogancy, then either we dare uſe, or allow in our ſelves or others, to ſeeme to make our calling to the Ministry in *New-England*, a Rule, and patterne, and precedent to all the Churches of Christ throughout the world. Did ever any man meeete with ſuch an exprefſſion in any of our writings? *That Chriſt them did not.*" See "Plain Dealing: or, called ſafe and fraudulent," Way of Newes from *New-England*," in Mais, Hill, Col., 3d Series, 3, 65. This tract was published in London, in 1642. Cotton ſays of it: "The Book is unlity called plaine dealing, which (in reſpect of many paſſages in it) might rather be

called ſafe and fraudulent," Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 71. It is evident, however, that conſiderable modiſcation had taken place in the views exprefſed "by all," at the ordination of Wilfon, compare *ante*, page 77, note 45.

Jesu bath appointed no other Calling to the Ministry, but such as we practise in New-England? Such language doth neither become the lips of M^r. Williams, nor of any Minister in New-England.

2. Though we beleeve our calling to be of God, yet we doe neither beleeve nor professe, that every difference from us which other Churches may use in the calling of their Ministers, doth straight way make their callings no callings, or no callings of Christ. Though it be our manner (and as wee beleieve according to the word) that every Church chooseth and calleth their own Ministers, and ordaineth them by the Presbytery of the same Church: yet if the Presbytery of other Churches commend a Minister to a vacant Church, and upon the acceptance of the Church, if the presbyters of those Churches doe ordaine him with the content of the Church, we doe not professe that this is no calling of Christ, or that these are no Ministers of Christ. The free choice of the Church is preserved (for ought we know) in their free acceptance of a Minister commended to them. And whether the Minister be [132] ordained by imposition of hands, at all, or no, and if by imposition of hands, by the hands of fellow-Elders of other Churches with the content of the Church: We neither put so much waight in such a Rite, though Apostolicall; nor doe we so farre restraine the libertie of communion of Churches, that if they shall communicate such entercourse of Church-actions one to another, then all their callings and administrations to be of none effect. Wee are not so masterly and peremptory in our apprehensions: And yet (with submision) we conceive, the more plainly and exactly all Church-actions are carried on according to the letter of the rule, the more glory wee shall give unto the Lord Jesus, and procure the more peace

to our Consciences, and to our Churches, and reserve more purity and power to all our Administrations.

3. Though we doe beleieve, and professe, that a Church (by rule) ought to be a Congregation of godly persons, or at least of such as professe godlinesse: yet if (through neglect of the power of doctrine) few godly persons be left in a Congregation, & (through neglect of discipline) few of those who professe godlinesse be found so blamelesse, as the purity of the Sanctuary requireth: yet we doe not straight way professe that such Congregations are no Churches, or that a Ministry chosen by such a Congregation, are none of Christs.

It is true, Gods chieffest regard is of his chosen Saints, godly persons. To them, and for them, he hath given Church-estate, Church-Covenant, and seales, Church-Officers, with all the power of the administrations of the holy things, the ordinances of Christ, *Ephes. 4. 11, 12, 13.* But yet that his holy Saints might be preserved, *ἀποικιωτοί*, without scruples and distracting perplexities in their Church-Communion, the Lord is pleased for their sakes to tolerate much hypocrisy, and many aberrations in Church-matters, before he reject Churches as no Churches, Ministry as no Ministry of Christ, callings as no callings.

To speake then a word to the inferences, which the Examiner gathereth from the two former mistaken confessions of ours.

As, 1. *That a Calling or Commission received from the Bish-ops is none of Christs.*

Reply. 1. We doe not beleieve nor professe, that the Ministers of *England*, who received Ordination from the Bishops, did receive [133] their calling from the Bishops; their Episcopall ordination is no part of their vocation to the Ministry. Their vocation or calling is from Christ by the Elec-

tion or at least acceptance of the Congregation: The ordination is onely *Adjunctum Consummans* of the solemnity of their calling, as hath been shewed above.¹⁴⁴

Reply. 2. Episcopall ordination, though it be an aberration from the institution: yet we doe not conceive, that it maketh an abrogation of the calling of a Minister. Extrinsecall pollutions, though they defile the calling, yet they doe not destroy it.

His second inference is; *That a Calling from a Parish of naturall and unregenerate persons, is none of Christ's.*

Reply. 1. It is an hard saying, to say that all of the Parish are naturall and unregenerate Persons. Such as are swift to judge themselves, are slow to judge others.

Reply. 2. Suppose they were all naturall and unregenerate persons; yet they professing Christianitie, and meeting together every Lords day, for the worship of the Lord Jesus, and desiring to have a Minister to instruct them therein, their calling is not a nullitie. I cannot say, that the worshippers of God at *Philippi*, (whereof *Lydia* was one) (who met together for prayer every Sabbath day) were any of them better then unregenerate persons, before *Paul* and *Sylas* came

¹⁴⁴ See *ante*, p. 83. Compare also the Cambridge Platform, Chap. IX., Sect. 2. "This ordination we account nothing else but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church, whereunto he had a right before by election; being like the installing of a magistrate in the Common-wealth, Ordination therefore is not to go before but to follow election. The essence and substance of the outward calling of an ordinary office in the church, does not consist in his ordination, but in his voluntary and free election by the church, and his accepting of that election; whereupon

is founded that relation between pastor and flock, between such a minister and such a people. Ordination does not constitute an officer, nor give him the essentials of his office." The Cambridge Platform was "agreed upon by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, assembled in the Synod, at Cambridge, the 8th Month, Anno 1649."

It is an instance of Cotton's fondness for special pleading that he thus strangely classes the forced "acceptation" of the English parishes with the free "election" that prevailed in the New England churches.

amongst them. And yet if a man of Macedonia come and call *Paul* and *Sylas*, to come and helpe them, they assuredly gather, that the Lord had called them to preach the Gospel to them, *A&Hs* 16. 9, 10.

His third inference is; *That a Calling from some few godly persons, yet remaining in Church fellowship after the Parish way, is not of Christ.*

Reply. Then it would follow, that a remnant of godly persons is not sufficient to constitute and denominate a Church, if the greater part be corrupt and uncleane. But the Prophet *Isaiab* was of another minde, and hath taught us by the Holy Ghost to judge otherwise: *Except (saith he, Isai. 1. 9.) the Lord of Hosts had left us a very small Remnant, wee shd have been as Sodom, wee shd have been like unto Gomorrah;* In his judgement, it is not a multitude of hypocrites and prophanie persons, that maketh a Church (where a remnant of godly persons are found) to become as *Sodom* or *Gomorrah*: But it is a remnant, a very small remnant, that preserve the Church from becoming as *Sodom*, or *Gomorrah*.

134] His fourth and last inference is; *That eminent gifts and abilities, are but qualifications fitting and preparing for a Call, or Office, according to 1 Tim. 3. Tit. 1.*

Reply. We readily acknowledge it: but yet if a few godly persons shall call for the employment of these gifts to their spirituall edification: The men who are qualified with these gifts, are not onely fitted and prepared for a call, or office, but actually called unto office; at least, to preach the word unto them, though not to administer the Covenant, or seales of the Covenant, but onely to them and their seed, who yeeld professed subjection to the Gospel of Christ Jesus. If any through ignorance or infirmitie proceed further in their administrations, I doe beleive the repentance of the Minis-

ters, (for sinnes knowne and secret) and the faith of the godly party, is more able to sanctifie the corrupt and uncleane sort to their Communion; then the corruption of the uncleane sort is able to corrupt the Minister, and Worship, and Church-estate of all.

TO CHAP. XXVIII.

IN this last Chapter of his, though he doe repeate some passages of the close of my Letter; yet I doe not discerne how his Answer is fitted at all to those passages. Nevertheless, because he is pleased to gather from those passages, *That I have not duly considered sundry particulars:* I am willing to take up the consideration of them, for a Conclusion: The first particular is, *The necessitie of Separation between the garden of the Church, and the wildernes of the world: As the Church of the Jewes under the old Testament was separate from the world; so ought the Church of the New Testament to be.*

Reply. 1. Of this particular I have considered, not in a confused generalitie (as he delivereth it) but in a distinct apprehension, thus; The world is taken in Scripture more wayes then one, and so is separation: The world is taken sometimes for the frame of heaven and earth, and all the hosts of them, man and beast, &c. as when God is said to have made the world, Act. 17. 24. Sometimes for the state of the world; as when Christ is said to have redeemed us from this present evill world, Gal. 1. 4. Sometimes for the Civill Government of this world; as when the Apostle exhorteth the Romans, not to conforme their Church-bodies according to the platforme of the Romane Monarchy, into Oecumenicall, Nationall, Provinciall, Diocesan Bodies, Rom. 12.

2. Sometime for the wicked of the world; as when it is said, *The world loveth his own*, Joh. 15. 19. *And the whole world lyeth in wickedness*, 1 Joh. 5. 19. Sometimes likewise, for the corruption that is in the world, 2 Pet. 1. 4. *The lusts of the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16.

In like manner, there be more wayes of Separation then one; As, first, there is a separation in affection, *Love not the world*, 1 Joh. 2. 16. Jam. 4. 4. Secondly, there is a separation in habitation, which is part of the meaning of *Isai. 52. 11. Revel. 18. 4.* Thirdly, there is a separation of Communion, 2 Cor. 6. 14. to 17th. Befides, there be diversities likewise of Communion: for there is a Civill Communion; and there is a religious Communion. And of either sort, there is a confederate Communion: And there is a Communion without confederacy: And of confederate Communion, there is a confederacy in matters of common civilitie; and there is a confederacy in matters of more intimate friendship, societie, and familiaritie.

To apply these different considerations of the world, and of Separations, according to the due and right apprehension thereof in the word of truth.

First, It is lawfull to have civill peace, and loving correspondence with neighbours in the world, yea even with Idolaters, and Infidels, so as not onely to trade with them, but to feast with them, yea and to succour them in their distresses, Rom. 12. 18. 1 Cor. 10. 27. Luk. 10. 34.

Secondly, It is lawfull to make leagues of peace with all men in the world, (even with Idolaters and Infidels) to wit, for free commerce, for trade, and inoffensive neighbourhood, Gen. 31. 44. to 53. Judg. 4. 17.

Thirdly, It is lawfull for the Subjects of the same State, to enter into confederacy amongst themselves, and with their

Princes, to submit to the same Civill Government, and Lawes, and to assist one another in mutuall defence against a common enemy, 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. *Ecclef.* 8. 3.

But on the other side, this consideration I have had of Separation [136] from the world: which the Examiner may consider, whether it be due or no.

First, That from the world (as taken for the creatures of the world) we are to separate in affection, to wit, from the inordinate love thereof, *Jam.* 4. 4.

Secondly, From the world, as taken for the carnall malig-nant estate of it, we are to separate both in our affection, and in our conversation, *Gal.* 1. 4. *Pbil.* 3. 20.

Thirdly, From the world, as taken for the Civill Govern-ment of it, we are to separate our Church-bodies, and the government thereof in frame and constitution, *Rom.* 12. 1, 2.

Fourthly, From the world, as taken for the Cities and Countrys thereof, which are fit to pollute us with their prevalent pollutions, we are to separate in our habitations; which is part of the meaning of *Ijai.* 52. 11. *Rev.* 18. 4.

Fiftly, From the world, as taken for the corruptions and lusts thereof, their evill examples, corrupt worship, Idolatries, superstitions, vaine fashions, and the worldly persons addicted to these things, we are to separate, both in affection, and in Communion, whether we speake of religious Communion, or of Civill Confederate Communion in matters of intimate friendshipp, society, and familiaritie. As we may not partake in Idolatrous feasts, or worship, nor enter into marriage-Covenant with Idolaters, 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to 17. Nor may we confederate with them in leagues of amitie, to have friends and enemies in common, 1 *Kings* 20. 4. nor to have partner-ship in trade and commerce, 2 *Cbron.* 20. 35, 36, 37.

Sixtly, There is yet another separation whereby the Church

and people of God, doe separate from the scandalous offenders of their own body, 2 *Thef.* 3. 6. 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. This, though it be in a speciall manner aymed at here by the Examiner, yet is it by him most improperly and confusedly called separation from the world. The Apostle doth most exprely contradistingue these, the one from the other : *I wrote unto you* (saith he) *in an Epistle, not to company with fornicators : yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioneers, or with Idolaters, for then must yee needs goe out of the world. But if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an Idolater, with such an one, no not to eate,* 1 *Cor.* 5. 9, 10, 11. As who should say, a fornicator or Idolatrous [137] brother of the Church is one thing ; a fornicator and Idolater of the world is another, from a fornicator or Idolatrous brother, you are to be separete : from a fornicator or Idolater of the world, in some kinde you need not to separate ; In as much therefore as the Churches of *England* doe not separate sundry notorious scandalous persons from their Church-Communion, though it be a leavening corruption : yet their sinne is not want of Separation from the world, but want of purification of the Church. In the meane time, they are separated from the world of Pagans, and Infidels, as the Church of *Israel* notwithstanding their toleration of all sorts of offenders, Idolaters, murderers, adulterers, they were yet separated from Pagans by profession of a different Religion, and the ordinances thereof.

The second particular which the Examiner saith M^r. *Cotton* hath not dueley considered, is, *That all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, Ceremonies, Common-Prayer, prostitution, of the Ordinances of Christ to the ungodly, and the true practise of Christ's own Ordinances, doe necessarily conclude*

a separation of holy from unholy, penitent from impenitent, godly from ungodly. And that to frame any other building upon such grounds and foundations, is no other then to raise the forme of a square house upon the keele of a Ship, which will never prove a soule-saving true Arke or Church of Christ Jesus according to the patterne.

Reply. I cannot acknowledge what he faith, that I have not duly considered, that all the grounds and principles leading to oppose Bishops, and Ceremonies, &c. doe necessarily conclude a separation of holy from unholy, &c. For I have considered, and well weighed (after my slender measure) that they doe indeed conclude a three-fold separation of holy from unholy.

1. Doctrinall, that the Minister of Christ, whilest he liveth amongst such dissolute and scandalous persons, he is to separate them in the application of his doctrine, between the holy and unholy, between the precious and the vile: so as to make sad the hearts of the wicked, whom God would have to be made sad, and to strengthen the heart and hands of the righteous, whom God would have to be comforted.

Secondly, A practicall separation in a mans own perfon, that what a man findeth upon those grounds and principles to be [138] unwarrantable and sinfull, he doe forbear the same in his own practise, and diswade others from the same by his doctrine and example.

Thirdly, An Ecclesiastical separation, that when a man cannot continue in fellowship with such a Church, but that he shall be compelled to the practise of some sinne, or of necessitie to communicate with the finnes of others, then (after all good means used, in vain, to redresse those evils) meekly to separate and withdraw himselfe from fellowship with them in Church-Communion, as one that cannot enjoy

the good which is found amongst them, without partaking in sundry evils that cleave to them.

Thus farre I have considered the grounds and Principles of Reformation, (of which the Examiner speaketh) and doe finde that they doe necessarily conclude, a separation of holy from unholie thus farre. But I confesse, I have not confidered, nor can I finde out, by any further due confideration, that the principles and grounds of Reformation doe necessarily conclude a separation from the *English* Churches, as false Churches, from their Ministry, as a false Ministry, from their worship as a false worship, from all their professors, as from no visible Saints. Nor can I finde, that they doe either necessarily or probably conclude, a separation from hearing the word preached by godly Ministers in the Parish-Churches in *England*: Nor can I finde, that the building of our Churches in these ends of the world, *is the rasing up of a square house upon the keele of a Shipp*, unlesse it be the Arke of *Noah*: for as the soules in the Arke were saved from water; so we finde by experience, and good evidence from the word, that the Lord blesseth our Church-Communion and administrations with soule-saving efficacy, through his grace in Christ.

Thirdly, The third particular, which the Examiner saith, I have not duely confidered, is, *The multitudes of holy and faithfull men and women, who have witnesseed this truthe from Queenes Maries dayes, by writing, disputing, and suffering, farre above what the Non-conformists have done, &c.*

Reply. This particular hath been confidered above in Answer to Chapter 23.

Fourthly, The fourth particular, which he desireth might be better confidered, *Is our own practise, and profession. Our practise, in [139] constituting our Churches of none but godly*

persons, and uniting them into a body by voluntary mutuall Covenant, and adding none to them, but persons carefully examined and approved, and entering by way of confession, both of their sinnes, and of their faith. Our practise also, in suppreſſing other English, who haue attempted to ſet up a Congregation in a Parifhionall way. Our profeſſion in the late Anſwer we gave to many worthy persons, (whom yet we account godly Minifters and people) that we could not permit them to live in the ſame Common-wealthe together with us, if they ſhould ſet up any other Church and Worſhip, then what our ſelves practise.

Reply. 1. Our practise in the conſtituting and ordering our own Churcheſ here, holdeth forth, what matter, and forme, and order of the Churche, we doe beleeve to be moſt agreeable to the patteſte ſet before us in the Gofpel of Christ. And our not receiving all commers unto the Communion of the Lords Table, and other parts of Churche-fellowſhip, (ſaving onely, unto the publick hearing of the Word, and preſence at other duties) it argueth indeed, that ſuch persons, either thinke themſelues unfit materialls for Churche-fellowſhip, (and fo they never offer themſelues to us) or elſe that we our ſelves conceive them to be as ſtones standing in need of a little more hewing and ſquareing, before they be layd, as living ſtones in the walls of the Lords house. All which amounteth onely to this, That we doe conider and bewaile the defects of the Churcheſ of *England*, in receiving ignorant and ſcandalous perſons to all the liberties of the Lords Table, and of his houſe, as other wayes. But it doth not at all argue (neither is it our minde it ſhould argue) their Churcheſ, and worſhip, and Miniftrey, and members, ſhould all of them be ſeparated from as false, or none at all.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ "The Queſtion of Separation, is a Officers, or Members, or both) doth not diſtinct Queſtion from thiſ in hand: forthwiſt put upon us a neceſſity of Separation, *Omnia prius tentanda*: neceſſity every delinquence in a Churcheſ, (whether

Our practise in suppressing such as have attempted to set up a Parishionall way, I never heard of such a thing here to this day.¹⁶⁶ And if any such thing were done, before my coming into the Countrey, I do not thinke it was done by forcible compulsion, but by rationall conviction.

But as for our profession, that wee should *answer many worthy Ministers and people in England, that wee could not permit them to live in the same Common-wealth with us, if they varied from us.*

I have cleared it above (in Answer to Chapt. 11.) to be a notorious [140] falsehood: and but that I know the Devill is able to create slander of nothing, (as God is able to create truths of nothing) I should thinke it incredible, that any man who hath been in New-England should be able to say, (as the Examiner here doth) *that we persecute the Parishes in New-England, and yet frequent the Parishes in Old England.*

Fiftly, The fift particular which he thinks I have not duly considered is, *That in the Parishes (which Mr. Cotton holdeth*

of Separation is the last remedy of grosse and notorious scandals, after all good meanes, still remaining incurable. Nevertheless there may be a lawful expeditiencie of removing from a more impure Church, to a more pure, without the necessity of separation, as hath been opened above, in clearing the slate of the Question in hand with Mr. Rutherford." Cotton's Holiness of Church-members, p. 40.

¹⁶⁶ Williams doubtles had in mind the well known case of the Brownes, at Salem, with the particulars of which he must, from his residence there, have been familiar. See Morton's Memorial, page 148. The Brownes were banished in 1639. It is possible that Cotton, coming to New England as he did in 1633,

had never heard of this transaction; but it is unaccountable how one so prominent as an adviser of the magistrates shoud have been so ignorant of the settled policy of the Massachusetts colony, especially as twice already, in this very Reply, he has alluded to the apprehension felt for "Episcopall and malignant practises." See ante, pp. 4 and 28. Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence," classes with Arians, Gortonists, Antinomians, Arminians, and Familists, the "Conformitants or Formalists, who being in a forme of worship of their owne, and joyne it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word." p. 24. This no doubt expresseth the feeling with which any attempt "to set up a Parishionall way," would have been regarded.

but inventions of men) how ever they would have liberty to frequent the worship of the Word, yet they separate from the Sacraments: And yet (according to our own Principles) there is as true Communion in the ministratior of the Word, as in the Seales. What mystery (faith he) shoud be in this, but that here, (to wit, in Old England) the Croffe of Chriſt may be avoyded, if persons come to Church?

Reply. 1. It is an untruth, that M'. Cotton holdeth the Parishes to be but inventions of men; for though I hold, that the receiving of all the Inhabitants in the Parish, into the full fellowship of the Church, and the admitting of them all unto the liberty of all the Ordinances, is an humane corruption, (and so if he will, an humane invention;) yet I doe not hold, nor ever did, that their Parishes were only an humane invention. For I beleieve, the Lord Jesu hath the truth of his Churches, and Ministry, and worship in them, notwithstanding the inventions of men superadded to them.

Reply. 2. Though I doe beleieve, there *is as true Communion in the ministratior of the Word in a Churcb-estate (to wit, to such as are in Churcb-estate) with the Minister of the Word, as in the Seales.* Yet it is farre from me to hold, and from any principle of mine to inferre, that there is as true Communion in the ministratior of the Word to every hearer, as in the Seales; for then we might as easily admit our Indians to the Seales, as we doe admit them daily to the ministratior of the Word.

Reply. 3. It is a malignant and Satanicall misconstruction of the intentions of such godly persons, who (out of sincere affection to spirituall growth) doe heare the Ministry of the Word from godly Preachers in *England*, to accuse them before God, and Angels, and men, that they doe it to avoyd

the Croffe of Christ, (to wit, persecution) which may be avoyded in a great measure, if persons come to Church.

[41] It is well knowne, that sundry of them are so sincere and constant in their profession, that as they have suffered much for the cause of Christ, against humane corruptions in Gods worship: so they would be ready to suffer yet more, for negleecting to come to Church, if they suspected any humane corruption at all in it.

Againe, It is well knowne, that any stranger in *London*, (by removing now and then his lodging) may escape not onely persecution, but obseruation, for a longer time, then any of our hearers are ordinarily wont to sojourne there: Befides, in this time of universall freedome from all persecution during this long Parliament, why doe not our members of these Churches forbear to heare the Word in the Parishes now, when there is no feare nor danger at all of persecution, for not coming to Church?

His sixt and last particular consideration is, *That how ever M^r. Cotton faith, He bath not found such presence of Christ and evidence of the Spirit in such (separate) Churches, as in the Parishes: What shoulde be the reason of their great rejoycings and boastings of their own separations in New-England, in so much, that some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure? Surely if the same new English Churches were in Old England, they could not meete in Old England without persecution: whic平 therefore in Old England they avoyde, by frequenting the way of Church-worship in the Parishes, which in New-England they persecute.*

Reply. 1. The Examiner might easily have satisfied himselfe in this consideration, if he had been willing to understand that which he knoweth to be our meaning. He knoweth very well, and hath often told us of it before, that we our

selves in our Churches doe practise some kinde of separation here, to wit, separation, not from the Churches in *Old England*, as no Churches, but from some corruptions found in them. In such Churches as so separate, wee never speake of them, that we had not found the presence of Christ, or evidence of the Spirit in such Churches. But I speake of such rigid Separatists Churches, as renounce the Churches, and Ministry, and worship, and Saints of *England*, as if they were all false, or none at all, and therefore utterly doe refuse to heare the word in their Assemblies, which is such a way of separation, as I told him in my Letter, *the Lord Jesus never delivered, nor any of his Apostles after him, nor any of his Prophets before him.* Of which he taketh no [142] notice, nor giveth any ground either from Christ, or his Apostles, or Prophets, for such practise; but putteth us off, that we practise separation our selves, and rejoice therein, as if our separation and theirs were both of one nature, and measure: which indeed differ as much (as I said before) as Chirurgery, and Butchery.

Reply. 2. When he telleth us, *We boast of our separations in New-England, yea so farre, as that some of our most eminent have said, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure.*

I must needs professe, I never heard, nor read of such a speech, but onely in this Examiners Booke. The speech it selfe favoureth, I know not whether of more ignorance, or arrogancy, or blasphemy. The broadest speech in this kinde, that ever I heard to fall from the lips of any in this Countrey, was that of M^r. *Williams* himselfe, who whilest he lived at *Salem* (as I am credibly informed) would say, *That of all the Churches of Christ in the world, the new English were the most pure, and of all the new English, the Church of Salem.* I am so well acquainted with the liberty and boldnesse of the Examiners tongue in calumniations, that untill I know the

name of that eminent person, whom he reproacheth to have so spoken, he must give me leave to feare, either a mistake, or that which is worse.¹⁰⁷

Reply. 3. It is a double calumny, (but suitable to many other of the former) *that wee in New-England doe persecute the way of separation, whether the one kinde of separation, or the other.* It is true of neither, for we practise the one, and tolerate the other.

And againe, that we frequent the Parish-Churches in Old England, to avoyd persecution.

Unlesse mens tongues were their own, I wonder, how they can allow themselves to speake so excessively at random.

These his six Considerations, having so little considerable truth, or waight in them, I justly said, *That be in withdrawing the people of God from bearing the voyce of Christ in so many Congregations, both in New-England, and in Old, did not helpe Jebovab against the mighty, but Satan against Jebovab, and against the mighty Ordinances of his Word, and Ministry.*

But he answreth, *that be helpeth the zealous soules of the Separation, and be helpeth us to seeke the Lord Jesus without halting.*

How he helpeth them I know not, unlesse it be by depriving [143] them of many precious meanes of grace, which

¹⁰⁷ In reply to Baylie, who had quoted in his "Dissasive," the statement of Williams, Cotton says: "Besides, Mr. Williams doth not ascribe these words to any definite persons in New-England. And, as I said before, Apocryphal testimonies will never goe with equall mindes for authenticall evidences. It is no new thing for Mr. Williams to mistake both himself and others, as hath appeared in the Reply both to his examination of that Letter, and to his *Bloody Tenant*. I never heard of any mans speech in New-

England so hyperbolicall in the praise of New-Englⁱsh Churches, nor coming nearer to the words in hand, than the words reported of Mr. Williams himself: *That of all the Churches in the world, the Church of New-England were the most pure; and of all the New-Englⁱsh Churches, Salem (whereof himself was Teacher) was the purest.* But such arrogant comparisons are as smoke in Gods nostrils, *Ezay, 65, 5.* the first born of vanity, and the first step to apostacie." Way of Cong. Churches Cleared, p. 28.

they might enjoy by hearing the Word in either *England*: or unlesse by his own example he now helpe them, *Proficere in peius*, to separe further from all instituted worship of the Lord, to cast off their own Churches, Ministry, Worship, as they have cast off others before, that so they might fecke (for that which will never be found under the Sunne) new Apostles to make all things new. And as little doe I know, how he helpeth us to seeke the Lord Jesus without halting, unlesse it be to seeke him, as he himselfe doth without Church-Ordinances.¹⁰⁸

For the Conclusion of his Booke, he is willing to take up the conclusion of my Letter; *That whosoever will not kisse the Sunne*, (that is, will not heare and embrace the words of his mouth) *shall perish in their way*, Psal. 2. 12.

This word is establisched in heaven, and will take place in the earth throughout all generations.

But least this word might profit himselfe, (as selfe-love is apt to apply a word of threatening to any rather then to it selfe) he applieth it to M^r. Cotton, and to every soule, (to whom these lines of his may come) *seriously to consider, in this Controversie, if the Lord Jesus were himselfe in person in Old, or New-England, what Church, what Ministry, what Worship,*

¹⁰⁸ Compare ante, page 45, note 21. The following passage, from a later treatise of Williams, will, perhaps, put his views in a clearer light: "Eightly, In the discource it will appear, how greatly some mistake, which say I declaine against all Ministries, all Churches, all Ordinances; for I professedly avow and maintain, that since the Apostacie, and the interrupting of the first ministry and order, God hath graciously and immediately stirred up and sent forth the ministrie of his Prophets, who during all

the raigne of Antichrist, have here prophesied in sackcloth, and the saints and people of God have more or les gathered to and assembled with them: they have prayd and fasted together, and exhorted and comforted each other, and so de, notwithstanding that some are not perswaded and satisfied, (as others conceive themselves to be) as teaching the doctrines of Baptismes, and laying on of hands." See "The Hireling Ministry None of Chrits;" The Epistle Dedicatory, p. 5.

what Government be would set up, and what persecution be would practise toward them that would not receive him.

For Answser, let me say in a word, this point hath been seriuously confidered already: and let it be still confidered and pondered in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, and doublefesse, for the first of these points, it will be found, that if the Lord Jesus were here himselfe in person, he would set up no other Church, nor Ministry, nor worship, nor government, then what himselfe hath appoynited in his Word: which though the Examiner, and many others, have fought and searched what enormities they might finde in it, yet they have wearied themselves, and found nothing. So true is the faithfull promise of the Lord Jesus, that he hath built his Church upon a Rock, and the gates of Hell shall not prevale againt it, nor against the Ordinances thereof.

And for the latter point; *What persecution the Lord Jesus if he were on earth, would practise against those who would not receive him.*

[144] The Answser is neere at hand, and is written for the warning of all gain-layers; *Those mine enemies which would not that I should reigne over them, bring them bither, and slay them before my face, Luk. 19. 27.* And yet I would not be so understood (in alledging this Scripture) as if Christ did allow his Vicegerents to practise all, that himselfe would practise in his own person. For not all the practises, or acts of Christ, (as the Examiner seemeth to intimate) but the Lawes of Christ, are the Rules of mans Administrations. But of that more distinctly in due time, if the Lord shall give libertie to enquire further into the Examiners *Bloudy Tenant.*

To the Lord Jesus, be the kingdome, power, and glory.

Amen.

APPENDIX.

In adopting September third as the correct date of the Decree of Banishment pronounced against Roger Williams (see page 8, note 4, and page 30, note 13,) I followed, with Mr. Palmer, the marginal date as given in the "Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," published with official sanction, in the year 1853, under the editorial supervision of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff. Since the labors of the Editor seemed to be limited to the determination of these dates I did not allow myself to question their entire correctness. A subsequent personal inspection of the original records, preserved in the State House at Boston, has led me to a different conclusion, the grounds of which I will briefly indicate.

The Colonial Records of Massachusetts are contained in five folio volumes, the first of which includes the proceedings of the Company previous to the removal of the letters patent to America, and also the Minutes of the successive Courts from August 23, 1630, to December 10, 1641. This volume, though defaced in places, in the main is perfectly well preserved, and exhibits the distinctly marked chirography of four successive Secretaries, John Winthrop, William Burgis, Simon Bradstreet, and Increase Newell.

It was the practice of each of them, in entering the minutes of a Court, to begin with a full statement of the place,

and date, of meeting, and a roll of the magistrates and deputies present. But in case of an adjournment of the Court, the vote of adjournment was simply entered, the minutes of the adjourned meeting following directly after, the change of time being indicated by the insertion of a new date in the body of the record. Thus, for example, the General Court which met May 6, 1635, was twice adjourned, the fact being indicated in the record by the successive entries, "The Court is adjourned till the first Wednesday in June," and "The Court is adjourned till the first Wednesday in July nexte." In each of these cases the new date is inserted in the body of the record, and is correctly noted by the Editor in the margin. From repeated instances of this kind, occurring in the records, the inference is inevitable that wherever a vote of adjournment is entered, an adjournment actually took place, and that all entries which follow such a vote must be regarded as minutes of the proceedings of such adjourned meeting.

It was also the practice to add, from time to time, a marginal synopsis of the more important matters embraced in the minutes of successive Courts, with the obvious design of facilitating reference. This marginal synopsis the Editor has printed, but respecting it he remarks, in his Preface, "The writing in the margin of these volumes is by many different persons, chiefly by Secretary Rawson,

whose entries are far from being what they should have been. Many entries are by modern hands, who, with a mistaken idea that they were making the ancient marginal writing more intelligible, have made numerous repetitions." The Editor further states that "all intended obliterations have been omitted in the printed copy." A too indiscriminate observance of this latter rule seems to have been the cause of the error under consideration.

The Minutes of the Court which decree the sentence of Banishment, are in the strongly marked handwriting of Secretary Bradstreet. The record begins in the usual form, "At the Gen' all Court, holden att Newe Towne, Sept^r 2, 1635," with the roll of those present, and after reciting a few items of business, the entry is made, "The Court is adjourned till 8 a'clocke to morrowe," and in accordance with this the marginal date, placed by the Editor opposite the next entry, changes from Sept^r 2, to Sept^r. 3. But for some unaccountable reason this second date, Sept^r. 3, is repeated in the margin throughout the remainder of the record, notwithstanding the fact, which seems to have escaped the notice of the Editor, that at the bottom of page 161 of the original a second vote of adjournment is recorded. The record reads, "The Court is adjourned to the Thurday after the nexte pitc'ul' Court." The next particular, or Quarter Court, which consisted of the magistrates alone, met at Newe Towne, October 6, 1635, which that year fell on Tuesday. The Thurday following would give us October 8th as the day to which the General Court stood adjourned. It is true that the new date is not inserted as usual in the body of the

record, but now comes the important fact which I discovered by an inspection of the original record, but of which the printed volume contains no evidence. As if to remedy the inadvertent omission of the date there is inserted in the margin, in the handwriting of Secretary Bradstreet, the correct date, "Octobr 8th." A later pen, from a comparison of ink evidently that of Secretary Rawson, has drawn a line of erasure across this marginal entry, without, however, rendering it in the least degree illegible. Deferring to the authority of Rawson, whose reasons for making this "obliteration" do not appear, the Editor, in the printed record, has taken no notice of this date, although following as it does the vote of adjournment, and written as it is by the same hand, it is difficult to see why it should not be regarded as part of the original minute. After the remark, already quoted from the Preface, that Secretary Rawson's entries "are far from being what they should have been," it is somewhat surprising that in this particular case, and in the face of so much evidence the other way, the Editor should have adopted his emendation.

In view of all these facts I submit that there is every reason to accept as correct the statement of Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, that the sentence of banishment against Williams was passed in the month of October. Hitherto this statement has seemed irreconcileable with the record, but if we accept as correct the date given by Secretary Bradstreet, what seemed an error on the part of Winthrop, becomes a most convincing corroboration. The only circumstance in the account of Winthrop that conflicts with this view is that he speaks of the sentence as having been passed

"the next morning," after Williams appeared before the court, while the record makes no mention of any further adjournment. But as Winthrop, from the fact that he omits the day of the month, and moreover inserts the account in his Journal after having already made an entry in November, evidently wrote it sometime after the event and from memory, it is not impossible that he may have confounded this meeting of the Court with the earlier meetings in September, or it may be that a preliminary hearing was granted Williams, before the magistrates, of which, since it involved no action, no mention was made in the record; or, again, which seems most probable, Winthrop may mean, not that the vote of banishment was passed the next morning, but that the next morning it was officially announced to Williams. Hence the expression used by Winthrop, "Sentenced him to depart."

For the assertion of Mr. Knowles, which has been repeated by all the biographers of Williams, that the Colonial Records give the date of banishment as November third, there is no support whatever. The Court which met Nov. 3, was the Quarter Court, and in minutes of its proceedings there is not the

slightest allusion to Roger Williams, nor to any thing connected with him. The assertion is the more surprising since Backus, whose work Mr. Knowles must have had constantly before him, after giving the account of Winthrop, adds in a note, "The province records agree with this account, only they do not set any date after the court met in September, before Mr. Williams sentence; but it might be October before it was passed." (Backus, 1, 70, note.) Professor Elton, combining in a single paragraph the accounts of Winthrop and Knowles, makes the somewhat remarkable statement that the Court met October, and the next day, November 3d, "this cruel and unjustifyable sentence was passed."

With a view to economizing paper, the minutes of the Quarter Court were sometimes inserted without reference to chronological order. Thus the minutes of the Quarter Court that met Nov. 3, were inserted in a blank space before the minutes of the General Court that met Sept. 2. It seems most likely that from not observing this confusion the error of Mr. Knowles arose. A single reference to the original record would have corrected it.

Q U E R I E S

OR

HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

EDITED BY

Ruben A. Guild.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.



EV. Mr. Orme, in his Memoirs of Dr. Owen, speaks of an "anonymous pamphlet by some Brownist in 1644, entitled 'Queries of Highest Consideration,' presented to the Dissenting Brethren, and the Westminster Assembly," as an important work, containing some most accurate statements relating to the distinct provinces of civil and ecclesiastical authority. Who this "Brownist" was, is not now a matter of doubt. Aside from the style and subject matter of the pamphlet, which clearly indicate the author, we have the positive language of John Cotton. In his "Answer to Master Roger Williams," occurs the following passage: "And then, as if New England were but an handful, from thence to rise up against the choicest ornaments of two populous nations, England and Scotland, the reverend Assembly of Divines, together with the reverend Brethren of the Apology, and above them all to address himself, according to his high thoughts, to propound Queries of high Concernment, as he (Williams) calleth them, to the High and Honorable Court of Parliament."

Charles I. and his Parliament were on the eve of their final rupture, when, in deference to the petition of the London clergy, praying for ecclesiastical reform, the House of

Commons requested that a general synod might be called by royal authority. The King refused to comply with their request, and the civil war began. The Scotch, with an army of twenty thousand men, marched into England to assist the Parliament, and to endeavor to establish Presbyterianism in place of Prelacy, which had been virtually overthrown. The House resolved, in consequence, "that such a government should be settled in the church as might be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and bring it into nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and the reformed churches abroad." An ordinance followed, bearing date June 12, 1643, "for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations." Such in brief was the origin of the Westminster Assembly.

This distinguished body first met in Henry VII.'s Chapel, July 1, 1643. It was composed of one hundred and twenty-one divines, selected by the House of Commons; six deputies from Scotland; ten English Peers; and twenty members of the Lower House of Parliament. From this time until February 22, 1649, they continued to meet, holding in all eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions. During this period they originated the Confession of Faith, the Directory of Public Worship, the Form of Church Government, and the Catechisms, which have so long been considered the standards of Presbyterian churches throughout the world. Hetherington regards the meeting of this body as "the most important event in the century in which it occurred," exerting and

yet to exert a wide and permanent influence upon the civil and religious history of mankind.

Of the one hundred and fifty-seven members composing the Westminster Assembly, seldom more than sixty were in attendance. Amongst them were a few Episcopilians, including Archbishop Usher, the Bishops of Bristol and Exeter, and Drs. Sanderson and Hammond. But the king, by proclamation, forbade the meeting, and the Episcopilians immediately withdrew. Of those who remained some were Independents; a few, of whom Selden was the leader, were called Erastians, having no fixed sentiments in regard to the theories of church government and discipline then advocated;—the great body of the members, however, were Presbyterians, or at least so favorably inclined to that form of ecclesiastical polity as to be readily induced to accept it. The crisis at this time in national affairs was great. The Scotch allies were impatient, and the House of Commons was anxious to settle and dismiss a question which distracted its attention, while it agitated the whole kingdom. Sir Henry Vane and two other commissioners were sent to Edinburgh, where they accepted, on behalf of England, the ancient Scotch Covenant, with a few slight alterations, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant. The House of Commons solemnly subscribed their hands, and swore to observe it, September 15, 1643, and the House of Lords followed their example a few days afterwards.

The Independents, who now began to appear as a distinct organization, under the political leadership and guidance of Vane, Cromwell, Fiennes, and St. John, constituted a most important element in the Westminster Assembly. Although but a small minority of ten or twelve, they were supported by a powerful party in the House of Commons and in the

Army ;—and they soon became the ruling party in the land. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interference of the magistrate in religious concerns, and no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. The names of the twelve Independents to whom we have referred, are given by Orme, as follows: Thomas Goodwin, D. D., of London; Philip Nye, of Kimbolton; William Bridge, of Yarmouth; Jeremiah Burroughs, of Stepney; Sidrach Simpson, of London; and William Greenhill, Peter Sterry, William Carter, Joseph Caryl, John Dury, John Philips, and William Strong. The last seven in this list of names were more or less inclined to the principles of the Independents ;—the first five were generally known by the name of the Five Dissenting Brethren, as they generally took the lead in all public discussions, and were mostly employed in drawing up the printed papers.

These men having in former years been silenced by the violent persecutions of Laud and Wren, had retired to Holland, where they founded Independent churches and preached for a time to their expatriated countrymen. Goodwin and Nye resided at Arnhem, and were highly esteemed for their piety and talents. Bridge went to Rotterdam and became pastor of an English congregation which had previously been formed by the notorious Hugh Peters. Burroughs and Simpson also resided in Rotterdam. They were all men of acknowledged ability, and seem to have been specially fitted for the prominent part, to which their position in the Westminster Assembly, as Independents, naturally assigned them.

The question of the government of the future church was warmly contested in the Assembly. The Presbyterians maintained the divine authority of their discipline, while the Independents protested against the ecclesiastical tyranny which they believed it would introduce. "It is inconvenient," said Nye, "to nourish such a vast body in a commonwealth: it is not to be endured. Men are already troubled to think whether Presbytery shall be set up *jure divino*, and no wonder; for, if it be it will grow so as to become as big as the civil power. When two vast bodies are of equal amplitude, if they disagree it will be naught, and if they agree it will be worse." The Presbyterians prevailed both in the Assembly and in the House of Commons. Thereupon the five Independent leaders published, about the end of January, 1644, a treatise or protest, entitled "An Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honorable Houses of Parliament, by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge." This naturally led to the publication of an Apology, or a series of answers on the part of the Scotch commissioners and others. From this time forward, says Hetherington, the contest between the Independents and the Presbyterians became one of irreconcilable rivalry, to which the utter defeat of the one or the other was the only possible termination.

The author of "Paradise Lost" was now in the beginning of his career of fame as a great writer and scholar, and a zealous advocate of civil and religious liberty. Abandoning for a time his literary schemes, he had already plunged into the tumult of political controversy. Regarding Prelacy as the cause of all that was wrong and reactionary in English society, he urged with resistless eloquence and logic, that it be abolished root and branch, and that the Long

Parliament and other legislative powers be stirred up and incited, by every possible means, to the work of changing the ecclesiastical system of England, and substituting therefor a more popular and democratic form of church government and discipline. For several years he devoted his time mainly to this one topic. His first treatise was an elaborate historical essay on "Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it." This was followed by a second on "Prelatical Episcopacy," containing an examination of arguments in favor of its antiquity and apostolic origin, advanced at the time by Bishop Hall and Archbishop Uther. A third and more comprehensive treatise followed this last, entitled "The Reason of Church-government urged against Prelacy." His next treatise was "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus," the Remonstrant being Bishop Hall, and Smectymnuus a designation for five Presbyterian ministers who had attacked him; and his fifth and last, was "An Apology for Smectymnuus," drawn out by an answer to the preceding. These treatises contributed preëminently to humiliate the Prelacy and abridge its power; but the Presbyterians, who had now attained the ascendancy, exhibited the same intolerant disposition that the Episcopalians had done. Like all rulers whose object is to abridge the liberties of the people, their first care was to restrain the press. They revived the *imprimatur* of the Star-chamber, and expurgated every book of every word or phrase which accorded not with their taste. This grievance Milton also combatted in his noble "Areopagética," or "A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing; addressed to the Parliament of England." "If," said the author, "it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves and suspicious of all men, as to fear each

book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall now come to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guesfed what is intended by some, but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controverfy, that Bishos and Presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing." The "Areopagitica" was published in the year 1644, and contributed in no small degree to the decline of the Presbyterian party.

It was about this time that Williams, who had arrived in England in the autumn of the previous year, published his "Queries" proposed to both the Independents and the Presbyterians, "upon occasion of their late printed Apologies," and "presented to the view of the Right Honorable the Houses of the High Court of Parliament." With characteristic boldness he criticises whatever he finds in the acts and principles of the contending parties at variance with the word of God. His liberal views as set forth in these "Queries of Highest Consideration," were evidently far in advance of his times. The closing paragraph of the introduction illustrates the spirit and design of the author.

"It shall never be your honor to this or future ages, to be confined to the patterns of either French, Dutch, Scotch or New-English Churches. We humbly conceive some higher act concerning religion attends and becomes your consultations. If He whose name is Wonderful, Counsellor, be consulted according to His last will and testament, as you may please in the Queries to view, we are confident you shall exceed the acts and patterns of all neighbor nations; highly exalt the name of the Son of God; provide for the peace of this distressed State; engage the souls of all that fear God to

give thanks and supplicate for you; further the salvation of thousands, and leave the sweet perfume of your names precious to all succeeding generations."

The only copy of the "Queries" of which we have any knowledge is in the Library of the British Museum. From this an exact transcript has been made for the Narragansett Club by one of the employees of the Institution, through the kindly offices of the Rev. Dr. E. B. Underhill, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Hanserd Knollys Society, and editor of most of their publications. The present reprint is undoubtedly accurate, although we have not been able of course to compare it with the original.

R. A. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, March, 1867.



Q V E R I E S OF HIGHEST C O N S I D E R A T I O N,

Proposed to

{ Mr. Tho. Goodwin	{ Mr. Jer. Burroughs
Mr. Phillip Nye	Mr. Sidr. Simpson.
Mr. Wil. Bridges	

A N D

To the Commissioners from the Generall
Assembly (so called) of the Church
Of

S C O T L A N D;

Vpon occasion of their late Printed Apologies for
themselves and their *Churches*.

In all Humble Reverence presented to the view
of the Right Honourable the Houses of the
High Court of Parliament.



L O N D O N ,

Imprinted in the yeare MDCXLIV.



TO THE
Right Honourable
Both Houses of the High Court
of
PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable,



*T*is a wofull Priviledge attending all great States and Personages, that they seldome beare any other Musick but what is Known will please them.

*T*hough our Musick sound not sweet but harsh, yet please you first to Know, it is not fitted to your Eares, but to your Hearts, and the bleeding Heart of this afflicted Nation.

*'T*is true, we have been humbly bold to presume as Ester into Ahabuerus his presence, againſt your Order: For who can paſſe the many Locks and Bars of any the severall Licensers appointed by you with ſuch a Message? By ſuch Circumscribing and immuring of your ſelves by ſuch a Guard (their Persons we honour and esteem) it is rarely poſſible that any other Light, but what their Hemifpheare affords, ſhall ever ſhine on your Honours Souls, though ne're ſo sweet, ſo neceſſary, and though it come from God, from Heaven.

*T*hese worthy and much eſteemed Persons unto whom we Quaery we have heard to be Men of Conscience, of Abilities,

and are in this worthy of double Honour, that (according to their Consciences) they appear in the Front and present their Moulds and Patterns of Church Government from Holland, from Scotland, to our inquiring England.

Their mutual just Exceptions which they have already or may further expresse against each others Tenents we leave to themselves, (though we might expresse them to our advantage) we shall be humbly bold in the name of the Lord Jefus; and the many thousand precious souls, for whom he hath paid so deare a Ransome; to present such Quæries to your Honours view, as respect their joint Agreement (Pardon the Pbrafe) like Ephraim and Manasseh (though fighting each against other, yet) both against Cbrift Jesus the Lion of Judah's Tribe; we mean so farre as they oppose the Truth and Purity of his last will and Testament.

Most Renowned Patriots, You fit at Helme in as great a Storm, as ere poor Englands Common-wealth was lost in: Yet be you pleased to remember, that (excepting the affaires of Heaven, of Religion, of Soules, of Eternity) all your Consultations, Conclusions, Executions, are not of the Quantity, of the value of one poor drop of water, or the little dust of the Ballance, if Efaiah were a true Prophet. Esa. 40. 15.

Yet concerning Soules, we will not (as most doe) charge you with the loads of all the Soules in England, Scotland, Ireland: wee shall humbly affirme, and (by the help of Cbrift) maintaine, that the Bodies and Goods of the Subject is your charge: Their Soules and yours are set on account to thoſe that professe to be the Lights and Guides, the Meſſengers and Embaſſadors ſent from Heaven to them.

You will pleafe to ſay: We are conſtantly told and we believe it, that Religion is our firſt Care, and Reformation of that our greateſt Task.

Right Honourable, your Wifdomes Know the Fatall Miscalriages of Englands Parliaments in this point; what setting up, pulling downe, what Formings, Reformings, and againe Deformings, to admiration.

*Three Instances are dreadfull, yet to expresse seasonable
First, The last and best of Englands changes, eftabliſhed Lord Bifhops: they and two more (Priests and Deacons) are by Law the eftabliſhed Minifters of Englands Church: The former makes the latter, ſo far as concerns a lawfull extermal Calling. The Lord Bifhops themſelves, are now voted Antichriſtian; Your Wifdomes then ſee what Callings by Law, the other two forts, Priests and Deacons have all this while bin furniſhed with.*

Secondly if bee that eates and drinkes the Body and blood of Chriſt unworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne judgement, and all English foulſ are bound by Law to eate that Body and Blood at fifteene, who fees not, ſince (as tis confeſt scarce one of a thouſand but is found ignorant, Impenitent, Unregenerate at thofe yeeres) that the Body of the People are compelled by Law, to eat and drink at fifteen their own judgment.

Thirdly, for Non-conforming to theſe and other praſtices, the English Maffe-Booke, &c., what beavy Perſecution haue thouſands felt and that by Law eftabliſhed?

We ſhall in all humble Reverence, ſuggeſt our Feares, that for the very Laws and Statutes of Englands Parliaments concerning Religion, and happily for ſome not yet iuſſpected, the Lord Iefus bath drawne thiſ Sword, that's daily drunke with English Blood.

It ſhall never be your Honour to thiſ or future Ages, to be

¹ THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, says Neal, was by act of Parliament, ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of England by all persons above the age of *eigtheen* years. By what law "all English foulſ" were bound to eat the body and drink the blood of Christ at *fifteen*, does not fo readily appear.

confined to the Patterns of either French, Dutch, Scotch, or New-English Churches We bumbly concive some bigger Act concerning Religion, attends and becomes your Consultations If be whose name is, wonderfull, Counsellor, be consulted and obeyed according to his last Will and Testament (as you may please in the Quaries to view) wee are confident you shall exceed the Acts and Patternes of all Neighbour Nations; highly exalt the name of the Son of God; provide for the Peace of this distressed State, engage the Soules of all that feare God, to give Thankes and Supplicate for you; further the Salvation of thousands, and leave the sweet perfume of your Names, precious to all succeeding Generations.



QUERIES

PROPOUNDED

To the five *Holland* Ministers, and
the *Scotch* Commissioners.

WORTHY SIRS,



N serious Examination of your late *Apologies*, we shall in all due respect and tendernesse humbly Querie :

First, what Precept or Pattern hath Querie I.
the Lord Jesuſ left you in his last ^{What war-}
Will and Testament for your *Synod* ^{rant from} the Lord
or Assembly of Divines, by vertue of which you may ^{Iesu for} expect his presence and affiance. <sup>the After-
by of Di-</sup>

If you say (as all Popiſh *Synods* and Councils doe) vines ?
the Pattern is plain, *Act*s 15. We alke if two or
three Brethren of one particular Congregation at
Antioch, fent to that firſt Mother Church at *Jerufa-* ^{Act}s 15.
lem, where the Apostles were, who being (immedi- examined.
ately) inspir'd from God, could ſay, *It ſeemeth good to*
the holy Spirit and Vs, to lay upon you no greater bur-
then, &c., as also who had power to make Decrees
*for all the Churches, Act*s 16. We alke whether

A Nation- this be a Pattern, for a Nation or Kingdome (and so all Aſſem- consequently for more Nations and all the World if bly necca- rity inſur- under one Government, as in *Augustus Cæſars tax*) etb an to ſend their ſeverall Priests and Deacons (for other the whole ſpirituall Officers than Bifhops, Priests and Deacons world. you know we have not) to reforme or forme a Religion, &c?

Dan. 3.
Daniel's
Image a
type of
State Re-
ligions.

We pray you to conſider, if the golden Image be not a type and figure of the ſeverall Nationall and State Religions, which all Nations ſet up and Ours hath done, for which the wrath of God is now upon Us?

The Title,
the Aſſem-
bly of Di-
vine ex-
amined.

We pray you also to anſwer in what part of Chrifts Testament is found that title, *The Aſſembly of Divines*; and whether it be not in English, *The Churche of Godly ones*? And as we Queried your ground for ſuch a Churche ſo have we alſo cauſe to pray you to tell us, Where Chrift Jefus hath given you power to affume and appropriate ſuch a Title to your ſelves, which ſeems in Scripture to be common to all the Children of God?

That Title
the Aſſem-
bly of godly
Divines
examined.

Some exprefſe it in Print and pulpit, the Aſſembly of godly Divines; we derogate not from the worth of any of them; yet you Know the Aſſembly of Saints or godly Divines is no other in English then the Aſſembly or Churche of Saints, or godly godly ones. *All that will live godly in Chrift Jefus must ſuffer perſecution*: We preſume you will grant others to be Saints and godly too in that ſence: but Oh that that whole Aſſembly or Congregation were truly reſolved (by way of Eminencie) to lead all the godly in the Land in ſuch a Christian practice.

QUERIE II.

Whereas you both agree (though with some difference) that the Civill Magistrate must Reform the Church, establish Religion, and so consequently must first Judge, and Judicially Determine which is True, which is False: or else must implicitly beleeve as the Assembly beleeveth, and take it upon trust, and so consequently is he the Head, Root and Fountain of the Supremacie of all Spirituall power and hath the power of the Keyes of *opening and shutting heaven gates, &c.* Of which power upon a grudge (as tis said) about his Wife, King *Henry despoiled the Pope*, and with consent and Act of Parliament, set down himselfe in the Popes Chaire in *England* as since his Successors have done?

King
Henry the
8th set down
in the Popes
chaire.

We now Querie since the Parliament (being the representative Commonwealth) hath no other power but what the Common weale derive unto, and betrust it with; whether it will not evidently follow, that the Common-weale, the Nation, the Kingdome, and (if it were in *Augustus* his time) the whole world must rule and govern the Church, and Christ himselfe as the Church is called, *1 Cor. 12. 12.*

The Com-
mon weale,
set the
world the
head of the
Church.

Furthermore, if the Honourable Houses (the representative Common-weale) shall erect a Spirituall Court, for the judging of Spirituall Men and Spirituall Causes (although a new Name be put upon it, *A new High Commission.* yet) whether or no such a Court is not in the true nature and kind of it, an High Commission? And is not this a reviving of *Moses*, and the sanctifying of a new Land of *Canaan*, of which we heare nothing in

the Testament of Christ Jesus, nor of any other holy Nation, but the particular Church of Christ? 1 Pet. 2. 9.

Is not this to subject this *holy Nation*, this heavenly Jerusalem, the Wife and Spouse of Jesus, *the pillar and ground of Truth*, to the vain uncertain and changeable Mutations of this present evill world?

The Par-
laments of
England's
wonderfull
Fathers made the Children Hereticks, and the Child-
changers in
Religion.

Who knowes not in how few yeares the Common weale of *England* hath set up and pull'd down? The Fathers made the Children Hereticks, and the Child-changers in Religion. How doth the Parliament in *Henry* the 8. his days condemn the absolute Popery in *Henry* the seventh? How is in *Edwards* the 6. his time the Parliament of *Henry* the 8 condemned for their halfe Popery halfe Protestantisme? How soone doth Queen *Maries* Parliament condemn *Edward* for his absolute Protestantisme? And *Elizabeth*'s Parliament as soon condemn Queen *Maries* for their absolute Popery? 'Tis true, Queen *Elizabeth* made Lawes against Popery and Papists but the Government of Bishops, the Common Prayer, the Ceremonies were then so high in that Queen and Parlaments eye, that the Members

The pre-
sent Par-
lament
would have
been a
spirituall rape
force the con-
sciences of all to one
Worship, oh that it may never commit that rape, in
mer times forcing the con-
sciences of all men to one Worship,
which a stronger arme and Sword may soon (as form-
erly) arise to alter.

QUERIE III.

Whether since you profess to be Builders, you *The only true Mat-*
 have not cause to fear and tremble, least you be *ter for*
 found to reject the *Corner stone*, in not fitting to him *a true*
 only living Stones? *1 Pet. 2.* Of these *living Stones*, *Church*
 (true Believers) the costly Stones of the Temple were *are living*
 types: and without true matter, which (as it is in all
 works in the World) it is impossible to build a spirit-
 ual House unto God?

This matter, the One of you confess and practice,
 the Other questions and mingles Sheep and Goats
 together, contrary to the spirituall nature of the Lord
 Jesus, and his true Pattern; contrary to the nature of
 God, who is a Spirit and will be Worshipped by Spirit-
 uall Worshippers; contrary to the peace and Safety
 of any naturall Soule and conscience, hardned in a
 dream of Fellowship with God, who saith to the
ungodly, What hath thou to doe to take my Covenant
into thy mouth and hatest to be reformed? Psal. 50.

QUERIE IV.

Whether in your consciences before God, you be *Few of the people of England or Scotland, and fewer of the Nobles and Gentry are land living Stones.*
 not perswaded (notwithstanding your promiscuous
 joyning with all) that few of the People of *England* and *Scotland*, and fewer of the Nobles and Gentry are *land living Stones.*
 such spirituall matter, living Stones, truely regenerate
 and converted; and therefore, Whether it be not the
 greatest Courtesie in the world, which you may possi-
 bly perform unto them, to acquaint them impartially
 with their conditions and how impossible it is for a

dead Stone to have Fellowship with the *living God*,
and for any man to enter into the Kingdome of God,
without a second Birth? *John 3.*

QUERIE V.

Impossible to reforme the dead in finne Although the fame and sound is great of Reform-
to reforme the dead in finne we Querie, Whether a dead soule is capable of
Sin, the any Reformation, until the first principle of Christ- spirituallitany, Repentance (*Heb. 6. 6.*) be found in him:
living, are only capa- otherwife, as a thoufand severall renewed Forms of
bility of re- Apparell, alters not the condition of a dead man; or
formation according to Christ. a thoufand new Formes of Postures of an Armie of
Cavaliers cannot make a Parlament Army: So we
Querie how possible that a perfon or perfons, visibly
in a state of *nature, dead in finne*, in a state of *enmitie*
Definitions and opposition against God (*Ephes. 2. Rom. 8.*) can ever
must not be please God, be visibly maried to God, fight for him
from the under the Banners of Love, &c. Allegations may be
corruption brought from the corruptions of the Church of the
but Institu- Jewes and the Churches of Christ: but We doe not
tion of it according use to define a Man by his Diseases, nor a Garden by
to which Weeds, nor a Citie by a Tumult, or an Army by a
Reforma- Rout or diſorder, eſpecially when we treat upon an
tion. Institution or Restauration.

QUERIE VI.

Excellent Witnesses of Christ who never pro- Although you both professe your Holynesse, Dilige-
gence, Zeale, Courage, Selfe-denyal, Patience, and
the one of you the incomparable spirit of your Fathers
in the work of Reformation; yet we Querie, Whether

there hath not been as Holy, Able and Zealous Men ^{needed to a}
 since the Apostacie, Men like *Antipas*, Rev. 2. ^{Church}
^{faith-}
^{estate.}
full Witnesſes of the Lord Jefus (in what Light they
 saw) even to Death, who yet never came up to such
 a worke of Reformation as you speak of: yea (with-
 out offence be it spoken) have there not been as excell- ^{Excellent}
 lent and heavenly Reformers as your ſelves and ^{reformers}
 Fathers, whose profeffed Reformation you now diſ- ^{wbſe work}
 like? Who ſhall outrhine many of the Waldenſian ^{new ſeems}
 Reformers for Holynesse, Zeale, patience? Where is, ^{to be beſide}
^{the firſt}
 or hath that pretious man been found, who hath (for ^{and this}
 perfonall excellencies) outrhined *Luther*? and who ^{Age diſ-}
^{likes, for}
 ſhall o'retop thoſe glorious Cedars *Bifhops*, *Doctors*, ^{sakes,}
 &c burnt for Christ Jefus in Queen *Maries* dayes? &c.

Yea, where the Church we grant to have been true
 (according to its Inſtitution, for the time of it) What ^{One of the}
 Asſembly, what Parliament can compare with that of ^{greatest}
^{Parla-}
David and his Captains of thouſands, Captains of ^{men that}
 hundredths, and every Leader and all the Congrega- ^{ever was,}
 tion of *Israel* from *Shibor* of Egypt, to the entring ^{after all re-}
 in of *Hemath* assembled together to reform the wor- ^{joying and}
 ship of God, in that true, but Nationall, Typical, ^{triumph-}
 Church estate of *Israel*? What rejoicing, what play- ^{ing in it}
 ing was there of *David* and all *Israel* with Harps, ^{found God's}
 Pſalteries, Timbrells, Cymballs and Trumpets, and ^{anger for}
 yet how angry was God, what a Breach did he make? ^{their er-}
 for *David* and all *Israel* transgreſt the appointed ^{rors, in re-}
 Order, 1 *Cron.* 1. 13. 1 *Cron.* 15. ^{formation}
^{of His}
^{worſhip.}

QUERIE VII.

A Nationall Covenant and a Nationall Church, not found in the Doctrine of the Son of God. Since the Law was given by *Moses*, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ, by whom (though God spake divers times and divers wayes to the Fathers) he hath now revealed his councell in these last times, Heb. 1. We Querie, where you now find one footstep, Print or Pattern in this Doctrine of the Son of God, for a Nationall holy Covenant, and so consequently (though we conceive the one of you stumble at it) a Nationall Church? Where find you evidence of a whole Nation, Country or Kingdom converted to the Faith and of Christs appointing of a whole Nation or Kingdome to walk in one way of Religion?

Such as hold a Nationall Church of God must claim Christ and follow Moses. If you repaire to *Moses*, consult with *Moses* and the old Covenant or Testament, we alke, are you *Moses* or *Christians* Followers? or do you yet expect the coming of the Son of God to set up the Christian *Israel*, the holy Nation, the particular Congregaton of *Christians* Worshippers, in all parts of the world? i Pet. 2. Heb. 12. &c.

If one whole Nation, where should we stop, why may not many and the whole world follow. We further Querie, Whether a Nationall Covenant lead not (in case, and as is practised) unavoidably to a holy Covenant of many Nations? yet to a holy league or Covenant (in case of *Augustus* his Government) of the whole world, which shoud then turne the Darling and Spouse of God between whom and it there is such enmitie, that if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him? i John 2.

The nature of the true 10. 35. That in every Nation he that feares God &c. The Doctrine of Christ Jesus tells us that, *Acts* 10. 35. *That in every Nation he that feares God &c.*

Not every Nation that feares God. Christ Jesus tells us that his Church may come together to break bread in One place, *1 Cor. 11.* which Nations and Countries cannot possibly doe: Christ Jesus tells us that his Congregation is now the Common-weale of *Israel*, invested with the true Kingly power of the Lord Jesus, to put forth every wicked person (though King or Keyfar) from amongst them.

We Querie, Whether it be possible there should be 2 true sorts or kinds of Churches, any more then 'tis possible there may be 2 true Parlaments in *England*, though many scores or hundredths should be called?

There are indeed 3 score Queens, and 4 score Cubines and Virgins without number, which seem to imply (and that even in these times, as some also have interpreted) severall kinds of Congregations or *Churches*, and yet Christ's Dove is but *one, and the first of only one of her mother*, Cant. 6. The Light of much Truth may shine forth on the *brazen Candlesticks* of strong Nationall Churches maintained and held up by the seeming strong Sword of Steel in an Arme of Fleshe &c. There may be *silver Candlesticks* more refin'd and pure in respect of the Matter of which they are constituted, viz. godly persons, &c. But Christ Jesus only walks in the midd'lst of his *Golden Candlesticks*, Gathered and Governed after the Golden Institution of Christ's Word, which is like fine Gold, *Rev. 1. Psa. 19.*

Againe, we alke, Whether in the Constitution of a Nationall Church, it can possibly be framed with-out a racking and tormenting of the Soules, as well *in itself*

*rack Soules
and Bodies,* as of the Bodies of persons, for it seems not possible to fit it to every conscience: sooner shall one suit of Apparell fit every Body, one Law president every Case, or one Size or Laft every Foot?

*The dan-
gerous con-
sequencies
of it.* Lastly, Whether it be not the cause of a world of Hypocrites, the Soothing up of people in a Formall State Worship to the ruine of their Soules: the ground of Persecution to Christ Jesus in his Members, and sooner or later, the Kindling of the devouring flames of Civill Warres, as all Ages justifie?

QUERIE VIII.

*No Wars
for Christ
but Christ.
3 Kingdomes
Lamb of God
and Prince of
Peace hath not in
his
Spirituall
Testament given us a Pattern, Precept or Promise,
for the undertaking of a civill War for his sake: we
Querie how with comfort to your Souls you may
incourage the English Treasure to be Exhausted, and
the English Blood to be spilt for the Cause of Christ?*

*War law-
full in
civill cases.* We readily grant the Civill Magistrate armed by God with a civill Sword (*Rom. 13.*) to execute vengeance against Robbers, Murtherers, Tyrants, &c. Yet where it meerly concerns Christ, we find when his Disciples desire vengeance upon Offenders, *Luke 9.*, he meekly answers, *You know not what spirit you are of, I came not to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.*

*Christ
Jesus for-
bids fight-
ing for bus-
onate.* If ever there were cause for the servants of Christ Jesus to fight it was then when (not his Truth, or Servants, or Ordinances, but) his own most holy Person was in danger, *Math. 26.* yet then, that Lamb of

God checks Peter beginning to fight for him, telling him, *that all that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword*, for with one Request to his Father, he could have been rescued by more than 12 Legions of Angells: He renders the Reason of his unwillingness to have Fighting for his sake, which was his Fathers good pleasure in the fulfilling of the Scripture: Unto which also may be added, *John 18. 36. My Kingdome is not of this world, if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight that I shoud not be delivered, &c.*

If it be said his Kingdome then was not of this world, but now it is or shall be: then was the hower of his Suffring, but now of his servants Reigning: *up by his* we Querie, What filling up of the suffrings of Christ Followers. Paul speaks of, Col. 1. when he mentioneth that which is behind of the sufferings of Christ? What means that generall Rule of the Lord Jesu Luke 9. If any man will follow me, let him take up his Croffe or Gibbet: and that of Paul, 2 Tim. 4. all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must suffer persecution?

We Querie (if Securitie may be taken by the Widdome of the State for civil Subjection) why even the Papists themselves and their Consciences may not be permitted in the World? For otherwife, if Englands opprest by Government were the Government of the whole World, not onley They, but a world of Idolaters of all sorts, yea the whole World must be driven out of the World?

We Querie, Whether the Common Body of Pro-
testants, impenitent and unregenerate, be not further off Salvation, and lye not under a greater guilt (like

*Knowing
Protes-
tants.* *Chorazin and Bethsaida*) then does the body of ignorant Papists? and we humbly desire it may be deeply pondered what should be the kindling of the Jealousie of God, to poure forth the Blood of so many Thousands of Protestants, by the bloody hands of the Papists (since most just He is and righteous in all his Judgements) whether or no the Lawes inacted, and Violence offred even to the Consciences of the Papists themselves, have not kindled these devouring flames?

"Tis true, the Prophesies are great concerning Christ and Antichrist throughout the Prophets and *The Prop-
ties of
Daniel and
John not
so easily
demonstra-
ted.* the *Revelation*, but can you sufficiently demonstrate these to the consciences of men? Are you those our blessed Prophets which can tell us *how long Psal. 74.*

Can you clear up the mysteries of *Daniels 2300
dayes, Dan. 8. Daniels 7 weeks and 3 score and 2
weeks, his one week, and his halfe week, Dan. 9?* His time, times, and halfe a time, his 1290 dayes, and

Daniel 1335 dayes, Dan. 12? Can you unlock those mysticall numbers of *Jobns 42 moneths, 1260 dayes; the 3 dayes and a halfe
Rev. 11. 12. the time, times and halfe a time, Rev. 12,
and the thousand yeare, Rev. 20* with divers others, which may establish the Judgements and Consciences of Men, and give them Warrant whereon to venture their Souls, and shed their Bloods, for the present destruction of Pope and Popery (not by the breath of Christs mouth, and the Sword of the Spirit, but by the breath of murthering Canons, and a flaming Sword of Steele?)

*The won-
derful* Otherwise we Querie, Whether the the blood of so many hundred thousand Protestants, mingled with

the blood of so many hundred thousand Papists, as ^{slaughter}
 was spilt some hundred years since in the Walden-
 and Pro-
 fessian warres, when all the Protestant partie that took ^{refugee in}
 the Sword perished with it, be not a warning to us ^{the famous}
 their offspring? ^{Warres of}
^{the Wal-}
^{denians.}

'Tis true, *John* tells us of Christ's great Battells
 against the Kings of the Earth, against the Beast and
 and false Prophet against *Gog* and *Magog*; but where
 speaks he of other Ammunition and Artillerie, used ^{The great}
 by the Saints, but what we find in *Pauls Christian* ^{battels of}
Magazine, Ephes. 6? ^{Christ}
^{Iesus yet to}
^{be fought.}

Where read we of any other Horse and Armes but
 those all *white* Rev. 19. and yet the Lamb shall have
 the Victorie over the Beast, and false Prophet, and
 over *Gog* and *Magog* in the appointed season.

QUERIE IX.

You both profess great Sufferings, &c. We Querie, ^{Gods child-}
 Whether any of the Sufferings of Gods Witnesse since ^{ren have}
 the Apostacie, have not been only right against the ^{been suc-}
 darke part, the Inventions, Abominations and Usur- ^{cessfull}
 pations of Anti-christ, according to Rev. 11? As for ^{Witnesses}
 the *light* part, who sees not, but to this day the Child- ^{against the}
 rens Reformations in new changes condemn their ^{Abomina-}
 Fathers, whose Zeale and Patience against the *dark* ^{tions, &c.,}
 part, have hitherto exceeded the Childrens. ^{Reforma-}
^{tion, which}
^{their child-}

We Querie, Whether the finishing of the Testi- ^{men after}
 monie, with the slaughter of the Witnesse, and their ^{them dis-}
 3 dayes and halfe last great oppression be over and ^{cover, to}
 past, that so the *light* part may arise in its brightnesse? ^{vary from}
 And though you commonly and only call those Mar- ^{the Pat-}

Martyrs, who lost their lives for Jesus yet we also Querie,
Whether Martyrs, that is Witneses, Rev. 11. be not
neftis, nor applicable to all the servants of Christ, who Witnesse
peculiar to against any part of the Beasts Kingdome and Tyranny,
tbisfe that although they never Witnesse to the Death?
die for
Cbrif.

QUERIE X.

Since you report your opposing and suppreſſing of Hereticks and glorious ſucceſſ, &c. We Querie, Whether that be a demonstratiue argument from the Scriptures, for a Truth of a Church, or Government of it, ſince even the Church of Rome may boast of the fame againſt many Schismes and Hereticks, and doth tryumph with wonderfull ſucceſſe, even againſt the Truth, and the Witneſſes of it, according to Daniels and Johns Propheties? *Dan. 11. Rev. 13.*

God ſome-
times give
great ſuc-
ceſſe of
Vitorie,
even to
Idolatres. Thus it pleased God in his Providence to turn the ſcales of Victorie (with a relife of their Armies) to the Idolatrous *Israeliteſ* and *Edomiteſ* againſt the *Moabiteſ*, *2 Kings 3.* and miraculoſly to deliver Idolatrous Apostate *Israel* from the mighty Armies of the *Syrianſ*, *2 Kings 7.* Thus he alſo rewarded hypocriticall *Jeſu* for his temporall ſervice in destroying *Ababs* houſe with a temporall Honour to the fourth generation, though himſelf and his continued in the Schisme, Apostacie and Idolatry of the house of *Israel*.

We pray you alſo to call to mind how it pleaſeth God, out of the bottomleſ Ocean of his Goodneſſe, *to caufe his Sun to ſhine, and his raineſ to fall upon the righteous and the wicked;* and time and chance (faith *Salomon*) happens unto all, and one event.

It pleased the Lord to heare the Prayers of wicked *Abab*, and to remit his temporall Affliction upon his temporall Humiliation.

Thus the Lord Jesus heard the prayers of the Devil's themselves, *Luke* 8. Upon the cry of the Idolatrous Mariners God mercifully provided to answer their prayers, and cease the Storme by the casting out of *Jonab*. Thus upon the external legall Humiliation of *Ninivie*, it was reprieved and spar'd a seafon; and *Sodome* had not been burned to ashes, but had continued untill Christ's time, upon a suppotion of their legall Humiliation, *Mattb.* 11.

Thus although the Idolatrous *Affirians* feared *Jebo- Judge-vah*, and served their gods (*2 Kings* 17.) yet we hear no more of the Lions amongst them when the King of *Affyria* had taken order for one of Israels Idolatrous Priests, to teach the *Affyreans* something of the manner of Gods service.

We Querie, Whether all these Instances amount to more than Evidences of the infinite Mercies, Goodnesse and Patience of God but are not proofs of their Worshipping of God according to his Ordinance, that their Institutions were from him and their Reformation according to his Appointment?

Yea, we further Querie, Whether the power of *godlineſſe*, ſhining forth in persons may evidence their state and *Worſhip* good? You both confesse the great profefſion of the power of *godlineſſe* in *England*: yet we beleeve the one of you acknowledge the Church of *England* as a Nationall Church not true; and both confesse the Government, Governours, and the Common Prayer (the Service and *Worſhip* of it) to be

abominable. Yet it is confessed that *Englands false Nationall Church* with her *Bishops, Common Prayer, ceremonies, &c.*, had more evidence of the power of *Godlines* in her Children, than was to be found amongst the Scotch, French, Dutch, who pretend a Reformation purer. It seems therfore evident that neither opposing of Heresies, nor successe in Victories Deliverances, nor power of godlineſſe in some persons, can evidence and prove their State and Worship to be right and pleasing unto God, according to his Ordinance in Christ Jesus.

QUERIE XI.

Since you both seem to magnifie the Scales of Baptisme and the Lords Supper with a difference and excellency above other Ordinances, We Querie where the Lord Jesus appointed such a difference and distinction? And whether there was not as full Communion practised by the first Christians in the Word, Prayer, and Communite, as in the breaking of Bread? *A&ts 2. 42.*

Further we Querie, since Baptisme is one of those Fundamentals, *Heb. 6.*, and every one that will be saved is bound to prove his Faith and his Baptisme true (*Mark 16. 16. he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved.*) We Quere, how 2 Baptismes or 2 Great Seals can be true in the Kingdome of *Chrift Jesus*, any more than 2 Great Seales can be true in the Kingdome of *England*? And whether a Christian Commission, Pattent, Pardon, Writ, can be truly feal'd (as is maintained) from *Rome*, any more than

a civil Commission, Patent, Pardon or Writ can be truly Sealed at *Oxford*?

To infist upon a late instance: since the Bishops power and Calling is condemned as Antichristian, how can we evidence the Seal of Baptisme true, which we have received from them?

Furthermore, since a true Baptisme giveth Right to all the Ordinances of Christ Jesus, we Querie, how any Protestant or Papist, whose Baptisme you acknowledge to be true, can be denied Communion in the Supper also, according to *1 Cor. 12. 12. By one spirit are we all baptized into one body*, and consequently into the participation of the Ordinances thereof: and if so, we Querie how farre off *Rome* and the Pope himselfe is from our bosomes?

QUERIE XII.

Since you both profess to want more Light, and that a greater Light is yet to be expected; yea, that the Church of *Scotland* may yet have need of a greater Reformation &c., we Querie, how you can profess and Sware to Persecute all others as Schismatiques, Hereticks, &c., that beleeve they see a further Light and dare not joyn with either of your Churches? Whether the Lambes Wife have received any such Commission or Disposition from the Lamb her Husband, so to practise? Whether (as King JAMES once wrote upon *Re. 20.*) it be not a true mark and character of a false Church to Persecute? It being the nature only of a Wolf to hunt the Lambs and Sheep, but impossible for a Lamb or Sheep, or a

thousand Flocks of Sheep to persecute one Wolfe : we speak of spirituall Sheep and spirituall Wolves : for other Wolves against the Civill State, We professe it to be the Dutie of the Civill State to persecute and supprese them.

The States of Holland in permitting other confidences obey the Command of Christ of permitting the Tares. And lastly, whether the States of *Holland* who tolerate, though not owne (as you say) the several Sects amongst them which differ from them, & are of another conscience & worship, whether or no they come neerer the *holy Pattern & command* of the Lord *Jesus*, to permit the *tares* to have a civill being in the field of the world, untill the *harvest* the end of it.

Mat. 13.

Whether those *tares* can possibly be taken for Hippocrites in the Church, or Scandalous persons in the Common weal, but are most properly false worshippers, and in especiall, and punctually intended by the Lord *Jesus* Antichristians, the *Children of the wicked one*, opposite to the true Christians, the *Children of the Kingdome*?

No State for the time hath been blest by God as that to admiration. Whether for this very Truth which those States profess, beyond either *England* or *Scotland*, it hath not pleased the *Lord* to prosper the State, above any other State in the world, for the time, since such their wise Permission ?

Whether there can possibly be expected the least look of Peace, in these fatall Distractions and Tempests raised, but by taking Councel of the great and wiest Polititian that ever was, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, in this particular ?

We Know the Allegations against this Councill : the head of all is that from *Moses* (not Christ) his

Pattern in the typicall Land of *Canaan*, the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, &c. We humbly desire it may be searched into, & we beleeve it will be found but one of *Moses* shadows vanished at the comming of the Lord *Jesus*: yet such a shadow as is directly opposite to the very Testament and coming of the Lord *Jesus*. Opposite to the very nature of a Christian Church, the only holy Nation and *Israel* of God. Opposite to the very tender Bowels of Humanity, (how much more of Christianity?) abhorring to pour out the blood of Men meerly for their Soules belief and worship. Opposite to the very Essentialls and Fundamentalls of the Nature of a Civill Magistracie, a Civil Common weal or combination of Men, which can only respect civill things. Opposite to the Jewes Conversion to Christ, by not permitting them a civill life or being. Opposite to the civill Peace, and the lives of Millions, slaughter'd upon this ground, in mutuall persecuting each others Conscience, especially the Protestant and the Papist. Opposite to the Souls of all Men, who by persecutions are ravished into a dissembled Worship, which their Hearts imbrace not. Opposite to the best of Gods servants, who in all Popish and Protestant States have been commonly esteemed and persecuted, as the only Schismaticks, Hereticks, &c. Opposite to that Light of Scripture which is expected yet to shine, which must by that Doctrine be supprest as a new or old Heresie or Noveltie. All this in all Ages experience testifies, which never saw any long liv'd Fruit of Peace or Righteousnesse to grow upon that fatall Tree.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

The following interesting letter from the Rev. Dr. Underhill, was received too late for the Narragansett Club to avail themselves of all the "tracings" which it describes. The original tract it appears has two titles, the first, which does not differ essentially from the second, being on the outside or cover. The words "all Independents," which are given in the transcript from which the "Queries" have been reprinted, and hence found in the title published in our Biographical Introduction to the Writings of Roger Williams, were added, it will be observed, with a pen, by Mr. Thomafin, the Collector of the Commonwealth pamphlets in the British Museum.

BAPTIST MISSION HOUSE,
2 John Street, Bedford Row, }
LONDON, March 1, 1867.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have now the pleasure of forwarding you the tracings of Roger Williams's "Queries." They are all the titles and headings the tract contains. The copyist (F. E. Tucker) has given the shadings as near as possible, as well as the imperfections of the typography. On both title pages there are some pen and ink additions. These are said by the Librarian of the British Museum to be in the handwriting of the collector. You pro-

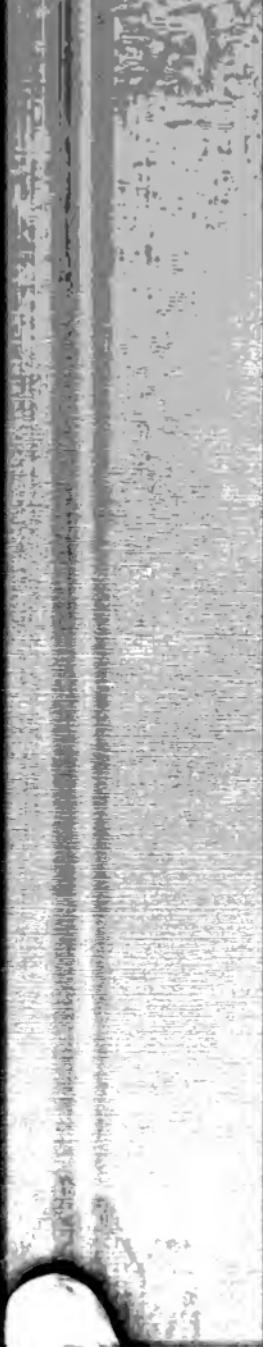
bably know that the Collection of Commonwealth Pamphlets in the Museum was the work of a man named Thomafin, who sold his collection to Charles II.; so that this valuable series came to be the possession of the Crown. George IV. gave it to the Museum. The collector it seems was in the habit of placing on every copy the exact date of its publication. Thus on the second title he has written Feby. 19, 1643—that is of course old style. We should now say 1644; but the collector wished doubtless to be very accurate, and so corrected a very common practice among publishers, of dating their publications forward when near the end of a year. He has also on this page added in ink "all Independents" to the names of the five ministers. The ink of 1643 in this second page is rubbed, as the tracing shows, and so the collector added 1643 again above. Curiously on the third page the head ornament is printed upside down. The tracings are so good, that I have not thought it necessary to get a photograph; but I can do this if you should still desire it. I shall be very happy to assist you in any further work of the sort. * * *

Believe me to remain

Yours very truly,

EDWARD B. UNDERHILL

MR. REUBEN A. GUILD,
Librarian Brown University.





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